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Monastic Initiation in Newar Buddhism

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'We ourselves are monks.'
Jimi he bhikṣuta
(Vajrācārya priest on being asked if he had ever invited Theravāda monks to his home.)

Introduction[1]

By the standards of South Asia the Buddhist Newars are not a large religious community, but they have an importance out of all proportion to their number. As the last remaining South Asian Mahāyāna Buddhists, that is, the last remaining Buddhists whose scriptures are written in Sanskrit and whose sacred language is Sanskrit, they have much to teach us about the history of Buddhism in South Asia. It was in this perspective that Newar Buddhism was seen by the scholars—most importantly Brian Hodgson and Sylvain Lévi—who described it in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and this is one reason why the Newars' Monastic Initiation ritual is of general interest.

The Newars are the indigenous inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal, a bowl-shaped valley in the Himalayan foothills.[2] The Valley is very fertile by Nepalese standards and located on what used to be a strategic trade-route between India and Tibet. Thus it was able to support, as the rest of the Nepalese hills were not, a high level of civilization from an early period. Religiously this meant Buddhism and Hinduism derived from the Indian plains to the south. Today there are perhaps something over half a million Newars living inside the Kathmandu Valley.[3] At an informed guess 20 per cent of Newars inside the Kathmandu Valley identify themselves strongly as Buddhists, half of these being Śakyas as Vajrācāryas, the composite sacerdotal caste whose

Monastic Initiation ritual is the subject of the present essay. Of the other 80 per cent, most have some attachment to Buddhism; only a few high-caste Hindus are hostile to it and make an effort to deny any connection with it.

The research which is the basis of this article was carried out over nineteen months at Kwā Bahā monastery in the city of Lalitpur (better known to foreigners by its unofficial Nepali name, Pāṭan). Of the three royal cities of the Kathmandu Valley (Kathmandu itself, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur), Lalitpur is the most strongly Buddhist, and Bhaktapur the least so. That is, there are more Buddhists in Lalitpur than in the other two cities, and Buddhist ritual and Buddhist devotional practices play a larger role in the life of Lalitpur as a whole than they do elsewhere.

The Śākyas and Vajrācāryas who go through the rite of Monastic Initiation (*bare chuyegu*; Skt. *pravrajyāvrata*)[4] form a caste,[5] and only sons of Śākyas and Vajrācāryas by mothers from Śākya or Vajrācārya families, may go through the rite. In effect it forms one of a series of life-cycle rituals (*saṃskāra*), and is the equivalent of the caste-initiation (*kaytā pūjā*; Skt. *vratabandha, upanayana*) of other castes. Śākya and Vajrācārya boys normally undergo this ritual at the age of five, seven or nine, or at any rate in an odd-numbered year before they are twelve. It is considered inauspicious to have three sons initiated at once, though any other number is permitted. Once completed, this rite makes a boy an adult, entitled to full mourning at death and subject to a purity etiquette which children are not expected to observe. This fits with the presumed etymology of the term *bare chuyegu*: *bare* means 'monk' (from Skt. *vandya*, 'venerable') and *chuyegu* must mean 'to begin',[6] hence 'beginning to be a monk'.

Buddhist Newars are very attached to the monastic ideal, and it is essential to their self-image. Contrary to what Allen (1973) implied in his article 'Buddhism without monks', Newar Buddhism has its monks, the Śākyas and Vajrācāryas, but they are married monks. They must all be members of a monastic association (*Saṃgha, saṃ*) and must all pass through Monastic Initiation. Only they may be god-guardians (*dyopālā*) for Buddhist monastic deities; only they may receive alms as monks (*pañcadān*). Monachism is the foundation—though only the foundation—of Newar Buddhism. Now that there are Newars who are (celibate) monks in the Tibetan Mahāyāna and Theravāda traditions active in Nepal, the fact that Newar Buddhism has no place for monastic

celibacy except the four-day Observance of Monastic Initiation, seems to the young and to the western-educated as a serious weakness.

Lienhard (1985: 261–2) has emphasized one consequence of the fact that Śakyas and Vajrācāryas are married monks, and that membership of their monasteries is hereditary: the denotation of the word *saṃgha*, monastic community, has suffered a contraction. It does not signify monks *and* nuns, or monks, nuns *and* laypeople, as it seems to have done in ancient times, but only the (male) members of a particular monastery. One Śākya member of Kwā Bahā did once try to persuade me that the monastic association (*saṃ*) of Kwā Bahā included other (lay) castes living in the area, but in doing so he was arguing flat against Newari usage and local custom. Furthermore, to be a member of one monastery where Monastic Initiation is performed is *ipso facto* to be excluded from membership in any other.[7] The ancient term 'monastic association of the four quarters' (*caturdiśa saṃgha*) is used (to invite all Śākyas and Vajrācāryas to an alms-giving ceremony) but no organization corresponds to it.

It should be clear from what follows that the ritual is monastic in intention but, as with other Śrāvakayāna practices in Newar Buddhism, it is pervaded with notions and practices deriving from the Mahāyāna and the Vajrayāna. The Śrāvakayāna (the Way of the Disciples, i.e. the monastic path), the Mahāyāna (the Great Way, i.e. the path of the householder and devotional ritual, and of the *bodhisattva* and moral perfections) and the Vajrayāna (the Diamond Way, i.e. the Tantric path of esoteric practice)—these three terms are used by Newars themselves to explain the structure of their religion. I have attempted elsewhere[8] to use them to give a general account of Newar Buddhism.

The Monastic Initiation rite of the Newar Buddhists preserves certain elements which are extremely ancient.[9] At the same time they have transformed the whole into something new and in tune with the Tantric form of Buddhism they have followed for at least half a millenium. As one of the most easily available, as well as the most fundamental, of Newar Buddhism's exoteric rites it is hardly surprising that it is better known than any other Newar rite. Two good descriptions exist already (Hodgson, 1972, I: 139f.; Locke, 1975), as well as two briefer anthropological discussions (Allen, 1973: 10; Greenwold, 1974b: 125–7; see also Locke, 1980: 42–7). There are also two descriptions published in Newari: that by

P.V. Vajracharya, translated below, and a short but informative piece by Phanindra Ratna Vajracharya (1983). So why attempt yet another description?

Firstly, Newar society is very rich and complex, its complexity compounded by extreme localism: the same rite—and this applies to all rites, whether Buddhist, Hindu or both—is performed differently by different people in different places. In the present case, different monasteries perform it according to their own traditions, and, in particular, there seem to be certain generic and significant differences between Monastic Initiation as performed in Kathmandu on the one hand and Lalitpur on the other. Of the three royal cities of the Kathmandu Valley these are the two with the highest concentrations of Śākyas and Vajrācāryas, the only Newar Buddhists allowed to go through the rite of Monastic Initiation. Whether Buddhists from Bhaktapur follow the practice of Kathmandu or that of Lalitpur, or whether they perform the rite in a third, distinct way, is impossible to say on the evidence currently available. Old Buddhist centres outside the three cities, such as Bungamati, home of the most important Buddhist cult in the Valley, that of the *bodhisattva* Matsyendranāth-Avalokiteśvara (known to Buddhists as Karuṇāmaya) (Locke, 1980) may preserve yet other variations.

A second reason for attempting another description is methodological. No one supposes that it is possible, merely by observing the rite, to understand what is being effected and how. There is in any case the practical problem that many parts of the ritual are performed behind closed doors; and even those parts which may be observed by the low-status foreigner[10] contain much that is opaque to simple visual and auditory observation: in particular, rapid ritual manipulations and utterances by the priest. Consequently, any description of the rite must rely either on explanations given by priests or on the ritual handbooks used by priests in performing and directing the ritual, and ideally on both.

Although the anthropologist's acquaintance with the rite is likely to begin with observation, such observed occurrences become ultimately merely a check, though a very necessary one, on his or her description of a cultural construct. Observation ensures that the cultural construct described is indeed the model which guides actual practice (rather than, e.g. an explanation invented to satisfy the over-inquisitive researcher or a myth only loosely related to actual practice). Observation not combined

with knowledge of ritual handbooks runs into the objection made by one of Fuller's priestly informants (1984: 145) that the performance is inexact: what really counts, and what the researcher should record, is the way it *ought* to be performed. Of course, if there is systematic divergence between the model and actual practice this in itself may be significant. Such divergence does occur at one or two points in the Monastic Initiation ritual, but more important are the successive adaptations of the model itself.

Thus the description given here attempts to combine observation, textual material and information from local participants to maximum effect. It concludes with a translation of a published priestly manual from Kathmandu, to show the kind of material contained therein. The present article is nonetheless far from being the final word on this ritual: a wider knowledge of variations in the way it is currently performed, combined with a proper study of all the ritual handbooks available from different periods, would permit some well-founded conclusions about historical developments about which, on the basis of the data presented here, it is only possible to advance hypotheses.

Colloquially Monastic Initiation is called *bare chuyegu*, but because *bare* is used with pejorative overtones by high-caste Hindus to refer to Śākyas and Vajrācāryas, the term *cūḍākarma*, tonsure, is preferred. This is to use a Sanskrit—and therefore honorific—word, technically describing only one small part of the rite (and which for Hindus connotes a separate life-cycle ritual), to designate the rite as a whole. When speaking Nepali to outsiders Newar Buddhists may use the word *vartamān* (from Skt. *vratabandha* as Turner, 1980, 423b, claims?) to describe the rite since Monastic Initiation is the sociological equivalent of the puberty/caste-initiation rite of this name. The ritual handbooks of the Vajrācārya priests call the rite *pravrajyā-vrata*, the Observance of Going-forth: on the one hand this preserves the ancient and canonical term *pravrajyā*, 'going forth', for the ritual ordination of a monk; on the other hand, by appending *vrata*, 'observance', it makes clear that this is a temporary ordination undertaken by a lay person.[11] It should be noted that Newar Buddhism has no place for the higher ordination (*upasampadā*) by which a novice becomes a fully fledged monk. In Newar Buddhism, which lacks permanently celibate monks, higher religious status is conferred by Tantric Initiation (*dīkṣā*).

Part 2: Sources

The description which follows is partly based on frequent observation of the rite, insofar as is permitted,[12] in Kwā Bahā, Lalitpur; supplementary observations were made at Ha Bahā, Uku Bahā and Cikaṃ Bahī. It is also based on the statements of participants and priests. A third source of information was the learned explanations of *paṇḍit* Asha Kaji Vajracharya and lists provided by the Rituals Officer (*betāju*) (G)[13] of Kwā Bahā, Bhai Ratna Vajracharya.

As for textual sources, there were the published articles in English and Newari, cited above. And there were copies of ritual handbooks actually used by priests as follows:

T1 = NGMPP	E 293/8	Pracalit script[14]
T2 = NGMPP	E 701/10	Pracalit script
T3 = private manuscript used by Asha Kaji Vajracharya,		Devanagari script.

All three of these are closely related and I estimate that all three are from Lalitpur. None is dated. T3 was copied by Asha Kaji himself; T1 and T2 are probably no older than the beginning of this or the end of the last century.

T4 = NGMPP D 27/41 Pracalit script.

This also lacks a date, nor is its source recorded, but it follows quite closely the published pamphlet (T5) which is translated in section 6 below. I assume therefore that it derives from Kathmandu.

T5 = *Cūḍākarma Vidhāna* edited by P.V. Vajracharya and published by Pushpa Shakya. translated at end

It would probably be misconceived to try and produce edited versions of such ritual handbooks as these. They are inherently liable to variation and evolution, and are very unlikely to have been composed by one person or at one time. Consequently I have not attempted to record every variant. I have corrected *pravajyā* to *pravrajyā*, *śiṣyāpada* to *śikṣāpada*, interchanged 'b' and 'v' and also removed or replaced *visarga* and *anusvara* where necessary, without indicating in every case that I have done so. In the main text, but not in citations given in the footnotes, I have also standardized/normalized old Newari spellings (e.g. *caryyā*, *ṣatva*) in accordance with the conventions of western Sanskritists and modern Newari.

Description of Monastic Initiation in Kwā Bahā, Lalitpur

3.1 *Preliminary rites*

A week before it is to take place the main rite is sometimes announced by putting up a notice (*vasāīpatra*) in the monastery, so that others may join behind (*ghānāḥ wayè*) the principal neophyte. In Kwā Bahā these days only the latter is obliged to feed the elders of the monastery; the families of all the other boys instead present Rs 5 'feast expenses' to each of those entitled to be invited to the feast. In some monasteries (e.g. Uku Bahā, Bu Bahā) all the boys are initiated together once a year, or once every two years, or sometimes even at greater intervals, and the feast is collectively organized. At other monasteries, of which Kwā Bahā is an example, boys may be initiated at any time.

The day before the main ritual[15] the boys carry out the *guru maṇḍala pūjā* (G) under the direction of their family priest and present areca nuts with ten pice coins (*gwe dāṃ tayegu*) directed by the Rituals Officer. The presentation, and acceptance, of areca nuts is a familiar ritual of seeking and being granted a given social and ritual status in Newar society. This is very clear in the marriage ceremony when areca nuts are given back and forth in a complicated series of exchanges (see Bajracharya, 1959 and Toffin, 1984: 409–12). In the Kwā Bahā Monastic Initiation fourteen areca nuts have to be presented, destined as follows:

5 to the Casalāju and four seniormost elders who pour the consecrating waters.
2 to the Rituals Officer who directs the ritual.
1 to the principal deity (***kwābāju***), taken by the current god-guardian.
1 to the *thāsaṃdyo* (G) worshipped during the rite of placing areca nuts, taken by the seniormost elder.
1 to the main Tantric shrine, taken by the Casalāju.
1 to the shrine of Vajrasattva, taken by the current god-guardian.
1 to the shrine of the lineage deity (***digudyo***, Ādibuddha Svayambhū), taken by the current god-guardian.
2 to the family priest (*purohit*) of the neophyte.

On the day of initiation itself each neophyte presents twenty-six areca nuts as follows:

5 to the 'the five gods', viz. main deity, lineage deity, Vajrasattva, Tantric deity and *thāsaṃdyo*.

10 to the ten elders.
2 to the Rituals Officer.
2 to the family priest.
1 to the astrologer (Jośī).
4 to the farmer (Suwā) who carries the parasol.
2 to the barber (Nāpit, Nau).[16]

In addition four *kisli* (G), one each to the main deity, lineage deity, Vajrasattva and to the Tantric deity, must be offered. In Kwā Bahā the areca nuts are often in fact given only on the morning of the rite itself, and not the day before. No *kalaśa pūjā* (G) accompanies the placing of areca nuts, as it does in Kathmandu.[17]

Once the boy has consumed the blessed food at the end of the day, for the next four days 'he may not eat meat, eggs, fish, chives, garlic, onions, lentils, aubergines, tomatoes or salt. Nor may he consume spirits, beer, cigarettes or tobacco. He must not touch chickens, dogs, leather shoes or anyone impure. If he should still be suckling at his mother's breast it is the mother who must keep the rules' (Vajracharya Ph. R., 1983: 34). In other words, he eats only 'meatless' (*nirāmiṣ*) food, viz. rice cooked in milk, sweets and fruit, and avoids all contact with impurity. These monastic restrictions are the essence of Śrāvakayāna in Newar Buddhism. The final meal the night before is called *chwelābhū*, 'plate of *chwelā* [one of the most common ways of preparing buffalo meat]' (G). The practice of *chwelābhū* occurs before all life-cycle and many other rites (e.g. worship of the lineage deity). After it boiled rice is forbidden until the final sacramental feast has been consumed.[18]

3.2 *Rites of initiation proper*

In Kwā Bahā half of the ritual takes place upstairs in the long antechamber to the main Tantric shrine, and is therefore unobservable by outsiders; the rest takes place in the courtyard of the monastery. For ease of exposition I shall divide it into seven sections, I, III and V being upstairs, II, IV and VI in the monastery courtyard. Section VII takes place at the neophyte's home.

3.2.1 *Preliminary rites*

The initial rites are performed by the Rituals Officer with the senior of the monastery acting as the sponsor (*jajmān, jayma*), that is, he represents the neophytes. The normal *pūjā* materials[19] are established and to one side the monastic requisites on a ritual

who are the real jajmāns?

plate (*thāybhū*) on a tripod, with four small clay waterpots at each corner containing water for the consecration; this is called the 'moon-mandala' (see Plate 3). These requisites are: a monastic shoulder piece (*ukhelakhā*), robe (*cīvara, khāyvastra*), monastic sandals (*kāṣṭhapādukā, kwāpālhakāṃ*), staff with a Buddha at the head (*khikhirikā, śilāku*),[20] and a begging bowl (*piṇḍapātra, piṃpā*). The Rituals Officer performs the normal rites which begin any ritual, which include a *trisamādhi* (threefold visualization); since the Tantric deity of Kwā Bahā is Yogāmbara, in this case it is the *trisamādhi* of Yogāmbara. Practising Vajrācāryas can perform this secret rite rapidly while the sponsor, here the senior of the monastery, waits at their side. It begins with praises of Yogāmbara including the phrase 'For the sake of the happiness of all beings I am Yogāmbara.' Worship of the various requisites follows, which includes summoning the Nine Nāgas (holy serpents) into the four pots to be used in consecration. Once these rites are complete the fire sacrifice, which is performed in front of the principal deity of the monastery, may begin. Although it is performed on their behalf, the neophytes are not required to be present until the end of it.

At this point the boys enter upstairs and various protective and purificatory rites are performed. A *svasti* (good luck symbol) is drawn on their head, and they are purified with holy water and the five products of a cow (*pañcagavya*). They perform the *guru maṇḍala pūjā*. They are purified (*nirañjan*) by having mustard seed and rapeseed (*īkāpakā*) scattered on cinders before them and by being shown a lamp; they are protected by having the Vajrācārya's *vajra* touched to their head and shoulder three times. They have flowers and fruits poured over their heads from a wooden *pha*-measure pot (*śiphaḥ luyegu*). Around their waist is tied a string called *aduwā*[21] which stands for the loin-cloth and therefore for the householder status which they are to renounce. They are then made to sit down, holding incense in their palms joined in supplication, while the instruction (*adhyeṣaṇā, bākhaṃ*) is read to them: during this 'instruction' the boys merely listen, the priest reading from his text the part of the boys and his own, as *guru*.

Utpādayāmi paramaṃ bodhicittam anuttaram
I arouse the ultimate excellent thought of enlightenment,

Gṛhītvā saṃvaraṃ kṛtsnaṃ sarvasattvārthakāraṇāt
Having undertaken the whole vow for the sake of all beings.

Atīrṇān tārayiṣyāmi amuktān mocayāmy aham
I shall carry across those who are not saved, liberate the unliberated,

Aśvastān[22] *śvāsayiṣyāmi sthāpayiṣyāmi nirvṛtim.*[23]
I shall encourage the unconsoled and establish (them in) nirvāṇa.

Now a golden ring is tied in the neophytes' topknot, which will be left unshaved by the barber. Before descending to the courtyard the boy's 'loin-cloth' is removed so that he can proceed to the next stage of the ritual. This is done with the *mantra*: *oṃ āḥ hūṃ sarvamalāpanaye*[24] [remove all stains] *hūṃ*.

3.2.II *Head-shaving*

Having descended to the courtyard of the monastery, the neophyte 'grinds lentils' (*māy kelegu*),[25] that is, he places his foot on a mortar and pestle, while his family priest holds the straw plate (*libicā*) with the required prestations for the barber,[26] over the boy's head. Riley-Smith (1982:99, fn.8) interprets the rite as demonstrating contempt for family ties and worldly conventions: (a) pestle and mortar are known as 'stone-mother' and 'stone-child' in Newari, and (b) the pestle and mortar are used in the kitchen to grind spices, and are normally kept rigorously clean, and would have to be washed if touched by feet under normal circumstances.[27] The *mantra* for this is: *oṃ sarvapāpa mardaya mardaya* [crush crush all sins] *hūṃ phaṭ*.

Now the barber, whose hand and razor have been worshipped by one of the priests, cuts the neophyte's hair, leaving the top-knot, and his nails. His paternal aunt collects the hair in the plate (*thāybhū*), which together with the top-knot will be put in the nearest holy river (the Bagmati in Lalitpur), either on the next or on the fourth day. He is then bathed with water, sesame seeds and a fruit called *amba*. In Kwā Bahā this is done on the steps in the north-west corner where the main shrine officiants (*bāphā*) always bathe. Then wrapped in a white cloth, signifying the status of the householder, the neophytes return to their places upstairs.

3.2.III *Going-forth*

Now, before the neophytes' top-knots are cut off, a ritualized exchange between the pupil(s) and preceptor is supposed to take place. In practice it may be omitted to save time, or read out after the cutting. In other words, while it gives the ideological and

mythic justification of the rite, it is not considered an essential part of the ritual as such. On the one occasion I have been able to hear it, it was read only in Newari, and I think that this is normal. It is read out in a singsong and indistinct manner, thus:[28]

> Oh *guru*, in accordance with your instructions, from this day, and until I have attained enlightenment (*bodhijñān*), I shall go for Lord Buddha's blessing (*śrī bhagavān yāke darśana wane*). Thus he requested, supplicated the *guru*. The *guru* said: 'I of-such-and-such name go for refuge to the Buddha, I go for refuge to the Dharma, I go for refuge to the Saṃgha. While this mandala remains, give up desire (*tṛṣṇā*)! [You, as pupil, should say:] Oh lord, Oh *guru* greatly compassionate. For the rest of my life, o-o, the Ten Unproductive Sins must be given up, (what are these . . .) and other sins, various, others' words — now I shall save beings — o-o, splitting, oh, those who get on, — once again, I shall go — good and evil acts with their karmic results I shall see, drinking alcohol [give up], . . . o-o, [these are] the Unproductive Sins, o-o, I must give up sins.' The pupil said, hearing this instruction, 'Oh lord, Oh *guru* (as you are here), killing and so on is despicable as you say, Oh lord, Oh *guru*, you have graciously spoken, o-o, o-o, I must go.

This recitation is in effect part of the liturgy: the meaning of certain key words (e.g. going for refuge, the Ten Unproductive Sins) is apparent to the listeners, but since this is part of a ritual, and not a story-telling as such, they do not listen closely, and neither expect nor receive (as they do when a *paṇḍit* recounts Buddhist Rebirth stories for instance) a coherent story line.

The Sanskrit version of the ritual handbooks T1 and T2 runs as follows:[29]

> The *guru* said:
> *Kulaputra idānīṃ gṛhīnāma evaṃ*[30] *pravrajyāvratam dhāryaṃ*
> Now son of good family! Are you capable or not of
> *Śakyo 'si vā na vā śakyaḥ?*
> taking up the observance of Going-forth as you should?
>
> The pupil said:
> *Bho ācārya mamātmane pravrajyāvratam vāṃchayāmi*
> Oh my preceptor, I wish to undertake the Observance
>
> *kṛpāṃ kuru tvam.*
> of Going-forth. Please be compassionate.
>
> *Aham itthaṃnāmā yāvajjīvaṃ buddhaṃ bhagavantaṃ*

I, of such-and-such name, shall for the rest of my
mahākāruṇikaṃ sarvajñaṃ sarvadarśinaṃ sarvavairya-
life go for refuge to the Lord Buddha who is greatly compassionate, all-knowing, all-seeing,

bhayātitaṃ mahāpuruṣaṃ abhedyakāyaṃ niruttarakāyaṃ
beyond the danger of all enemies, great man, of indivisible [i.e. diamond] body, of the ultimate
dharmakāyaṃ śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi gaṇānām agram.[31]
body, the Dharma body, foremost in all religious groups.

Then the *guru* said:
Sādhu sādhu kulaputra, gṛhaliṅgaṃ parityajya[32]
Well done, well done, son of good family. Swear

pravrajyāliṅgaṃ śakyo 'si trisatyam eva kuru.
three times that you are capable of abandoning the insignia of a householder and taking up the insignia of Going-forth.

The pupil said:
Bho ācāryopādhyāya pravrajyāvrataṃ śakyāmi niścayaṃ
Oh preceptor and Assistant,[33] certainly I am capable of the Observance of Going-forth, three

trisatyam.
times (I declare it is) true.

The *guru* said:
Adhunāhaṃ pravakyṣāmi śṛṇu vatsa mahāratah
Now I, the greatly delighting one,[34] shall explain—listen, dear one:
Vratācāre kathāś[35] *caiva pañcaśikṣā vidhīyate.*
the Five Precepts followed in this Observance are laid down with explanations (as follows).

Prāṇaṃ na hanyāt na pibec ca madyaṃ
He should kill no living being, nor drink any alcohol,

Mṛṣā na bhāṣyā[36] *na haret parasvam*
Lies are not to be uttered, he should not take others' goods.

(*Madanasvabhāvaṃ parisāmiṣadya*)
(He should not act lustfully)

Svargañ ca gacched gṛhavat narāṇām.[37]
(If he does this) he goes to a heaven with other men though he be a householder.

Punaś ca
Furthermore

Himsā kāle tathā[38] *nūnam manasā vacasā 'pi vā*
Desire to kill, even for a particular occasion (?), even in mind or speech (is wrong).

Tasmāt himsā na kāryāni alpāyuś ca bhavet naram.
Therefore desire to kill is not to be done, (otherwise) a man's life is short.

Yadā madyaratāś caiva sarvajñānam parāyate
When men are addicted to drinking, all knowledge and all

Dhvamsanam sarvaśāstrāni tasmāt madyam na pībayet learning goes to destruction. Therefore he should not drink alcohol.

Mṛṣāvādaratāś caiva mānyahīnam sadā bhavet
He who is addicted to telling lies will also be despised.

Tena mithyā na sevanti duḥkhapamkeṣu jāyate.
His falsehoods will be useless, he will be reborn (sunk) in the mud of suffering.

Paradravyānulobhena mahāduḥkheṣu jāyate
By coveting what belongs to others one is reborn to

Daridrāvarṇapamkeṣu paradravyāni nāharet.[39]
great sufferings, (sunk) in the mud of wretched untouchability, so he should not take others' things.

Kāmakrīḍā-sadācārī sadā duḥkhī bhaviṣyati
He who is always indulging in sex and love-games will always suffer.

Sadā bhayam sadā kaṣṭam tasmāt kāmam na sevayet.
Forever fear forever misery. Therefore he should not pursue physical pleasure.

Iti upāsakacaryā.
This is the conduct of the layman.

The pupil said:
Aham itthamnāmā yāvajjīvam pravrajyāvratam
I, of such-and-such name, for all my life take up

dhārayāmi samanvāharantu mām upādhyāya.[40]
the Observance of Going-forth. Bear witness for me Assistant-priest.

Now the neophyte's top-knot is cut off with a gold-plated razor, to the *mantra: Om sarvajñānāvarān chedaya chedaya* [cut cut all obstacles to understanding] *hūm phaṭ.*[41] This is the central act of the ritual, for which the auspicious moment (*sāīt*) has to be

determined by an astrologer. If performed at this moment, one priest told me, the gods themselves descend from heaven (*indralok*) to catch the hair. The absence of the top-knot is perhaps the most crucial marker of the distinction between Śākyas and Vajrācāryas (Buddhists) and other castes. In some monasteries the senior elder does the cutting.[42] In others it is done by the boy's father's sister's husband (FZH), who like the barber before him, has his hand worshipped by the priest.[43] The boy is purified again with water from the priest's conch shell and with the five products of a cow and is taken downstairs. At some point before descending to the courtyard the neophyte has a thread (*aduwā*) with bits of cotton attached tied around his head. According to the Rituals Officer this stands for the Observance the boy is undergoing (in Sanskrit *vrata* means both 'thread' and 'observance' or 'fast').

3.2.IV *Consecration*

The neophyte descends to the courtyard and stands in the centre of a lotus carved into the flagstones in the north-east corner, while the farmer attached to the monastery holds one of the elders' parasols overhead. The Casalāju pours from his conch shell and the four seniormost elders pour the four small clay pots containing water 'of the four oceans'[44]. If there are musicians, they play at this point. Because of the expense musicians nowadays seem only to be invited in those monasteries which initiate all their boys together.

3.2.V *Presentation of the robe etc.*

The boys return to their places upstairs. They are given a monastic name, which according to the older handbooks, T1 and T2, is preceded by taking the Triple Refuge and a request by the pupil thus:

Aham itthaṃnāmā yāvajjīvaṃ gṛhaliṃgaṃ
I, of such-and-such name, give up the insignia of a

parityajayāmi. Pravrajyā-liṃgaṃ dhārayāmi.
householder for the whole of my life. I take up

Bhikṣupadanāma dehi.
the insignia of Going-forth. Give me a monk's name.

The name-giving consists in being addressed with the phrase *he* [So-and-so] *śākyabhikṣu nāma bhū bhava sva*[45] (i.e. nowadays a

new name is not given). They are touched with the main priest's *vajra*.

At this point in T1 and T2 the neophyte again takes the Triple Refuge and the *guru* explains the Ten Precepts (in fact the precepts additional to the Five already explained above) with the verses:

Tūryamūrya-mṛdaṃgādi nṛtyagītarasasya ca
Musical instruments, drums and so on; dance, song and enjoyment;

Lepayed gandhavāsādi puṣpamālāvibhuṣitā
Smearing on perfume and fragrances; wearing flower garlands;

Akālabhojanādyāś ca uccaśayyā-sadāratā
Eating at the wrong time etc.; delighting always in high beds;

Mahāśayyādiparyantam daśaśikṣeti varjayet.[46]
Finally large beds and so on; these he avoids (in following) the Ten Precepts.

Then the pupil is supposed to request the robe thus:

Aham itthamnāma yāvajjīvaṃ tvaṃdeśitāni daśaśikṣāni
I, of such-and-such name, shall follow the Ten Precepts taught by you

'ham chādayāmi. Cīvaraṃ bhikṣāpātraṃ ṣaḍakṣarī
for the whole of my life and wear (the robe). Robe, begging-bowl and

etāni tvaṃ dehi.
six-syllabled *mantra*[47]—do thou give me these.

The robe is purified by being sprinkled with water and uttering the *mantra: oṃ sarvasaṃśodhani* [everything-purified] *hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*. It is explained to them that the robe is authorized for use in the monastic association, in the palace, in villages, towns and bazaars. Then the robe is handed over. In the old days it was always red in colour, nowadays (through the influence of Theravāda Buddhism) yellow robes are often used. The recitation here (given in T2 and T3 but not in T1) is a much briefer version of what is found below (p. 87). It runs:

Idam ekaṃ cīvaraṃ saṃghasya viśvāse saṃgha-
This one robe is for monastic use by the warrant of the Saṃgha.

paribhogāya. Dvitīyacīvaraṃ rājakulagamanāya.
The second robe is for visiting the palace.

Tṛtīyacīvaraṃ grāma-nagara-nigama-parivartana-[48]
The third robe is for going round villages, cities towns.

gamanāya. Adhitiṣṭhantu svāhā.[49]
Let them be authorized *svāhā.*

The begging bowl is empowered as follows, and then handed over:

Idaṃ pātraṃ bhikṣāpātraṃ yācyamānaṃ[50] *kāle*
This bowl, this begging-bowl which you have

paribhogikaṃ bhoktavyam adhitiṣṭhantu svāhā.
requested at the right time is to be used as a monastic requisite. Let them be authorized *svāhā.*

The same procedure is followed with the staff, which has a representation of the Buddha (or of a *stūpa*) at its head:

Idaṃ khikkhilikā dharmadhātu-ratnatraya-svabhāvaṃ
This staff, which has the nature of the Root of Dharma and the Three Jewels has the flawless nature

triśaraṇagamanāchidrasvabhām adhitiṣṭhantu svāhā.
of taking the Triple Refuge. May they be authorized *svāhā.*

The staff is handed over with the shoulder-piece. The neophyte is then dressed in the robes.

Now the boys are given golden marks on their foreheads with the *mantra: Oṃ suvarṇatilaka-vibhūṣaṇam pratīccha svāhā* (*oṃ* accept the decoration of the golden spot *svāhā*).[51] A 'sign of the Buddha', that is a good luck sign (*svasti*) and a *nandyāvarta,*[52] are drawn on the boy's head, and the rite of pouring the *pha*-measure is performed. Although T1, T2 and T3 omit to mention it, it seems that the neophyte now has to complete, as a monk, the *guru maṇḍala pūjā* which he began when he first entered the foyer to the Tantric shrine upstairs.

The neophyte receives his first alms from the elders of the monastery and his family priest recites the requisite 'giving verse' (*dānagāthā*) for them:

Oṃ pātre supātre odana tasmai dehi svāhā.
Oṃ in the vessel, the suitable vessel give him rice *svāhā.*

Sauvarṇarūpya-vividhadhātuja-mṛnmayaṃ vā
Be it of gold, silver, other metal or even of clay,

Śālyodanaiḥ suparipūrṇa-supiṇḍapātraṃ

If a begging bowl is filled up with cooked and uncooked rice,
And given always with devotion

Bhaktyā dadanti satataṃ jinasaṅghikebhyaḥ
to the followers of the Enlightened One,

Syāt tasya puṇyam asamaṃ phalam aprameyam.
The donor will gain unparalleled merit and immeasurable good results.[53]

3.2.VI *Concluding rites*

Various rites to do with the fire sacrifice being performed in front of the principal deity of the monastery can now be completed: the pupil-oblation (*śiṣyāhuti*), clarified butter offered into the fire on behalf of each new monk; the direction spirit-offering (*dig bali*; see p. 89f.) made to the guardians of the directions around the edge of the fire-pit; the great offering (*mahābali*) of alcohol to the fierce deities represented in the line of divinities; and the full oblation (*pūrṇāhuti*) of money into the fire. Offerings are sent to all the deities of the monastery (*cakrapūjā*) and a spirit-offering is made to the lords of the directions (*degubali*).

The boys sit in order of seniority next to the fire while this is done and then offer rice to all the deities invoked by the priest as at the end of any complex rite (*kīga tinegu*). There follow the normal prestations to the priest; reading of the hundred syllables of Vajrasattva (as a request for forgiveness for any mistakes); sprinkling of the water from the main waterpot on the boys and blessing from the priest; and the final oblation of everything that remains into the fire.

Next occurs another 'popular' rite: 'taking seven steps' (*nhepalā chuyegu*)[54]. Using rice flour, seven lotuses are drawn on the ground, and areca nuts, five-pice coins and cloves are placed on each. The boys wear the monastic slippers belonging to the monastery, the farmer holds a parasol overhead and holy water is poured in front of them as they 'take seven steps'. There is always an unseemly scramble of young children to seize the coins once the boy has passed over! It is commonly believed that this celebrates the seven steps on lotuses that the Buddha took immediately after his birth from his mother, Māyādevī's side.[55]

The new monks now enter the shrine of the principal deity of the monastery. Once again four *kisli* (G') are offered on their behalf to the main deities of the monastery; the boys bow to the deities in the main shrine and offer the *kisli* there themselves.

This is the first time they have entered the shrine, they enter it every morning for the next three days, and thereafter only when their turn comes to be god-guardian (*dyopālā*).[56]

3.2. VII *Returning home, breaking the fast*

In Kwā Bahā the boys each return home at this stage carried by their maternal uncles, while a farmer (Daṅgol or Suwā) bears one of the elders' parasols overhead. At the entrance to the house the boy is welcomed in the traditio~~nal ritual manner (*lasakus*~~) by the senior lady of the house, and receives alms (*badām̩ chyegu*) from all the women of the house and from his ~~aunts. For this he~~ wears on his shoulder a special cloth (*rūcigā* or *paugā*) given by his paternal aunt(s). He then enters and may eat pure food. At some other monasteries, e.g. Uku Bahā, the neophytes receive alms in the monastery, go together around a traditional route (*désāntar wanegu*) and return to eat together in the monastery. In this case the welcoming ceremony is performed by the senior elder's wife at the main gate of the monastery.

The neophyte eats pure food[57] while the priest recites the 'good-luck verses' (*svastivākya*). Later priest, family and relatives all have a feast (with meat, alcohol etc.). At the house of the senior boy, the first sitting will be of the elders of the monastery (who have been fasting) and for other prescribed guests. The other neophytes present Rs 5 as 'feast expenses' to each guest, and their families are thereby spared the trouble and expense of preparing the required special feast (*sam̩jabhū*) (G). Traditionally this consisted of twenty-four dishes (*ghāsā*), but it has been reduced to twelve—a decision taken within the last fifteen years by the Monastery Reform Committee to spare expense to Kwā Bahā members.[58]

In view of the extreme 'localism' of Newar culture one can be sure that this *sam̩jabhū* in fact contains different dishes, differently arranged, in different monasteries, although there will no doubt be certain pervasive correspondences. The main point though is that the principle underlying the practice will be the same everywhere. Ratna Kaji Vajracharya (1982) has published a book listing many such arrangements derived from informants of different castes and from different localities. He gives various correspondences of particular foods with the Five Buddhas, the Hindu Trimūrti and the Eight Mother-goddesses (op. cit.: 3–4). Included also (ibid.: 50) is a diagram of a complete layout due to Asha Kaji

Vajracharya said to derive from the Ghanaghora Tantra.

In Kwā Bahā the following people have to be invited to the *saṃjabhū* and they sit in this order:

1 *thāsaṃdyo* (G), share taken by seniormost elder
1 *lakṣmībhū* (for the goddess Lakṣmī) taken by the host household
10 Elders in order of seniority
1 Rituals Officer (assistant of the Casalāju)
1 Family priest of the neophyte[59]
1 God-guardian of Kwā Bahā principal deity
1 Thakujuju (G)
1 Bisya (the Thakujuju's 'minister')
1 Jośī (astrologer) who determined the auspicious moment
2 Suwā (farmer) who traditionally assist in Kwā Bahā—one of the shares is 'for the parasol (*chattra*)'
1 For the barber (he or she will be fed separately).
1 For the uncle (FZH) for cutting off the top-knot and/or his wife for catching the hair.

Many of the elders frequently have to send their sons or other members of the family as a substitute (*palesā*) because of their age. Similarly the Thakujuju, Bisya and Jośīs often send their womenfolk because, as Hindus, they are nowadays embarassed to attend strongly Buddhist ceremonies in person.

Before the feast the *thāsaṃdyo* is worshipped as the Tantric deity of the monastery, in this case Yogāmbara, and the guests receive alms (*pañcadān*). At the end of the meal, as at the end of all ritual feasts involving the seniors of the monastery, the farmer collects up the leftovers (*cipa*; Skt. *ucchiṣṭa*), starting with his own, and takes them without speaking to the nearest *chwāsā* (G).

3.3 *Laying down the robe* (cīvar kwakāyegu/kwatelegu)[60]

On the fourth day, counting inclusively as Nepalis always do, the neophyte returns to lay life. On the days in between he has visited the monastery each morning and bowed down to the main deity. He is supposed to have visited at least seven houses to beg alms during his time as a monk. He is likely to have visited more since his relatives will insist that he come, so that they may earn merit by giving alms to him. There is no fixed list of who is to be visited, except that the maternal uncle is usually the last. In Kwā Bahā the return to lay life is conducted entirely in the house by the family

priest, and the monastery and its elders have no role in it.

The main rite on this day is a *kumārī pūjā*, that is, the worship of Vajradevī represented by a share of the feast, including meat, beans, alcohol, i.e. much of what has been forbidden to the neophyte as a monk. This is exactly the same as the ritual marking the end of any fast, such as the fast of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara (*aṣṭamī vrata*) or of Vasundharā (*gātilā*). The boy performs the *guru maṇḍala pūjā* and has the same protective and purificatory rites performed to him as we have seen before (above, p. 50); these elements are common to all the important life-crisis rites and to many others too. The boy then holds his begging bowl and staff and the family priest reads out the 'story' (*bākhaṃ*).

Normally this is in archaic Newari and the boy's part stresses the difficulty of the Śrāvakayāna, and requests the *guru* to take back the robe and begging bowl. The *guru* then says that the pupil (*śiṣya*, pronounced *sikhi*) has been born in Śākyabhikṣu family thanks to the merit of his previous lives, that it is good to stay in the Disciples' path (*śrāvakacaryā*) but that if he cannot then he will show him the Mahāyāna path, and he should then return his robe and begging bowl. The boy then hands over the begging bowl and staff, and takes off his robe.

This is the version given in T3:

Bho nātha guru bhavatānubhāvena pravrajyāvrata-
'Oh Lord *guru*, by your grace I have undertaken the vow of the Going-forth fast, given up the Ten Unproductive Sins in

saṃvaraṃ gṛhītvā paṃcaśīla aṣṭaśīla daśākuśalāni
accordance with the Five and Eight Precepts, and carried out

pāpāni tyaktvā śrāvakacaryāṃ cakre 'ham. Tato
the Disciples' path. Now I shall take up the path

mahāyānacaryāṃ dhārayāmi kṛpādayāṃ kuru.
of the Māhāyana. Please accede to this request.'

Gururuvāca.[61] *Sādhu sādhu upāsaka śiṣya.*
The *guru* said: [mystic] circle. What is

Mahāyānacaryātvaṃ gṛhṇa gṛhṇa.Mahāmokṣādhipati-
Take up the path of the Mahāyāna. Take up the practice of the great lord of liberation, the *guru*

śrīguru-Vajrasattva-cakreśvarasya caryāṃ dhāraya.
Vajrasattva. lord of the [mystic] circle. What is

Mahāyānacaryā katham? vakṣyāmi śṛṇu:
the practice of the Mahāyāna like? Listen and I will tell you:

Mahāyānacaryāsthita-mūladharmaḥ
That most fundamental of religious practices which is comprised by the Mahāyāna

Śaktyā vinā naiva yadi[62] *kadā cit*
Can never be fulfilled without a *śakti* [i.e. wife].

Mahāyānadharmatvam[63] *api vratam ca*
Nor can the Mahāyāna or its Observances (be complete)

Dīkṣāṃ vinā naiva kathaṃ ca mokṣam.
Without Tantric Initiation, how much more (is Tantric Initiation necessary for) liberation.

Tasmāt tvayāpi mahottamaṃ ca prajñopāyadevadevīṃ
Therefore, do thou, knowing the ultimate god and goddess who are skill-in-means and wisdom [viz. the Tantric deities],

jñātvā mahāyānacaryāṃ dhāraya śrāvakacaryāṃ tyaja.
take up the practice of the Mahāyāna and abandon that of the Śrāvakayāna.'

T1 and T2 share a very brief alternative version of this[64] but T2 has also, in the margins, a longer more interesting alternative:

The pupil said:
Guro 'haṃ bhāratīm ekaṃ prārthayāmi[65] *mahāmate*
Oh great-minded *guru*, I beg of you one request.

Sudullabhaṃ na jānāmi sadā dhāryaṃ na śakyate
I did not know it was so difficult to fulfil, I cannot follow it forever.

Tasmāt tat kṣamanopāyaṃ[66] *dehi me he kṛpānidhe*
Therefore, oh jewel of compassion, give me a means to make up for it,

Yenopāyena me nātha sāphalyaṃ jāyate 'dhunā.
A means by which, oh lord, I may now obtain success.

The *guru* said:
Śakyo 'si vā na śakyo 'si viproktaṃ mayā purā.[67]
I asked you before whether you were capable or not.

Sudullabhaṃ pravrajyākhyaṃ dhāraṇaṃ vratam uttamaṃ
Going-forth is indeed most hard to achieve, it is the ultimate Observance.

Tathā tat kṣamanopāyaṃ vadāmi śṛṇu vatsa tat:
I shall explain the means of forgiveness for (giving it up), listen dear one:

Śrīvantaṃ guṇavantaṃ sadgurum ārādhya yatnataḥ
Having by effort obtained a true *guru* who is auspicious and well-qualified,

Dīkṣāśikṣāṃ samāgṛhya mahāyānamahottamaṃ
Applying onself to teachings and Tantric Initiation of the great Mahāyāna,

Vratasaṃdhāraṃ vatsa[68] *sāphalyaṃ jāyate tadā.*
And to Observances, success will be obtained dear one.

The pupil said:
Tathā 'haṃ saṃcariṣyāmi mahāyānaṃ vrataṃ punaḥ.
I will indeed carry out the Observance of the Mahāyāna.

Gṛhyatāṃ piṇḍapātrādīn kṣamyatāṃ me 'parādhatām.
Please take my begging bowl, please forgive me my offences.

In all these versions, then, the fault of abandoning the monastic path can be made up by entering the Great Way (Mahāyāna) under the instruction of a *guru* and going on to take Tantric Initiation (*dīkṣā*).

Once the priest has taken the robe, begging bowl and staff from the boy, the latter puts on a new set of clothes provided by his maternal uncle, and various good luck rituals are performed (*sagaṃ, vajrarakṣā, śiphaḥ luyegu*) and the normal rites to conclude the ceremony. The share of the goddess Kumārī is taken to the traditional Kumārī shrine of the family by the two senior women of the household. After the feast, the leftovers of the priest, boy, head of the household and his wife are collected up, worshipped and sent off, as was done after the feast of the elders (above, p. 60). Here they are taken by the youngest adult male of the family. as in wedding RK-B

3.4 *Evening rite* (niśācakra)

For the majority of Śākyas the removing of the robe and the feast that follows it mark the end of *bare chuyegu.* But for those more committed to the Vajrayāna, there is a further optional Tantric rite performed in the evening. In Bu Bahā this rite is performed very elaborately in the *digī* of the monastery and is compulsory;

the neophytes do not have to provide a feast for the elders and others (*saṃjabbū*) as in Kwā Bahā because the whole association is fed once every three years by all new members in a rite called *thyā-bare chuyegu*. The Evening Rite (known in Newari as *uwā thangeu*) must also be performed after initiation as a Vajrācārya (*ācā luyegu*); when this is done only after marriage (as is common in Bu Bahā but rare in Kwā Bahā), the young man's father-in-law has to send many prestations and take part in, or provide for, the Tantric dance that accompanies the ritual. On the other hand, when initiation as a Vajrācārya is done immediately after Monastic Initiation, only one Evening Rite need be performed.

Elaborately performed, the rite consists of many songs (*caryāgīt, cācā me*) and dances, and long praises of Heruka Cakrasaṃvara. The neophyte has to light a lamp (*mata*; thus the rite is also called *mata pūjā*) on top of a large lentil-cake (*wo*) before a painting of the main Tantric deity. Subsequently he drags it to where the *guru* feeds him pieces of sacred buffalo meat (*pañcā-kuś, pañcāku*) and also passes him a saucer of liquor to drink, from which he has already sipped. When it is the blessing (*prasād*) of the goddess this liquor is not known by its normal name (*aylā*) but as nectar (*amṛt*). This controlled infraction of the normal purity taboos (consuming another's *cipa*) is a part of many complex rituals. During the marriage ceremony the bride has to consume the *cipa* of her husband and of her mother-in-law. In a Tantric rite often performed during worship of the lineage deity (*digudyo pūjā*), male members of a lineage share a single skull-cup of rice beer: since it is passed from senior to junior each member therefore consumes the *cipa* of all those senior to himself. Here, in the same way, a special relationship is established with one's *guru*.[69] After initiation as a Vajrācārya a special worship of a Mother Goddess in a power-place outside the city (*pīṭh pūjā*) has to be performed; but this is not part of Monastic Initiation, even when it includes the Evening Rite. This Power-place Worship is parallel to the custom of other castes, who often observe such a practice after an auspicious life-cycle rite at the *pīṭh* traditional to their family, a ritual known as *waṃjalā wanegu*.[70]



With the help of their mothers and under the direction of their family priest (*purohit*) two young neophytes perform the *guru maṇḍala pūjā* as part of the preliminary rite of 'placing areca nuts' (*gwedāṃ tayegu*). Kwā Bahā.



Two [illegible] monks pose with staff and begging bowl against the prayer-wheels (-a relativ

4. *Remarks on the Monastic Initiation Ritual*

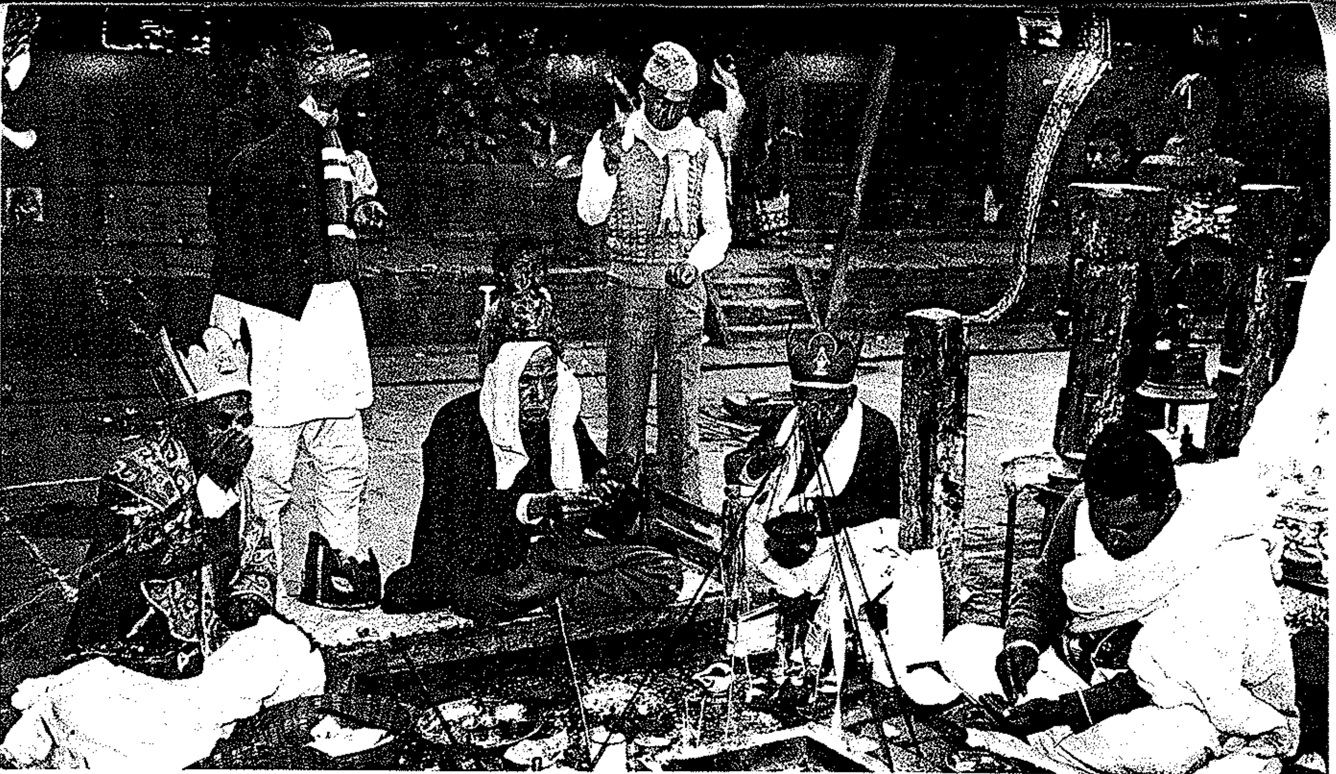
It will be obvious from this description that around a monastic core many ritual elements have been added. The basic act is Śrāvakyāna but the frame and the idiom are Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna. Certain ritual elements may be called 'popular': the 'grinding of lentils' and 'taking seven steps' are evocative and well-known to lay people, but are not in any strong sense scriptural: they are enjoined only in ritual handbooks and do not figure in scriptures or in ancient scripture-like digests such as the *Kriyāsaṃgraha*. By contrast the shaving of the top-knot and donning the monastic robe are obviously and clearly Śrāvakayāna. In the same way, lustration with the 'water of the four oceans' is Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna. On top of these various ritual elements the ceremony has of course acquired many social functions which have been built into it: the role of the uncles (MB and FZH), of the paternal aunt(s), the role of the barber, farmer and priest, all indicate that the rite expresses and reinforces certain social relationships, and establishes a new one with the monastery in question.

The distinction between Tantric (i.e. Vajrayāna) and non-Tantric elements is a relative one. Toffin (1984: 562) has remarked on this in discussing the relationship between Brāhmaṇ and Karmācārya: Newar Brāhmaṇs see themselves as representatives of (non-Tantric) Vedism in relation to the Karmācārya, but as Tantric adepts, understanding the internal meaning and not just the external rite, in relation to Parbatiya Brāhmaṇs. Much the same applies to different Buddhist monasteries.

The *bahī* appear as least Tantric in their performance of Monastic Initiation since their priest does not perform a fire sacrifice. Uku Bahā, which has only Śākya and no Vajrācārya members, represents a kind of Mahāyānist tendency among the *bahā*: the top-knot is cut by the head of the monastery and he also presides over the return to lay life, which is done in the monastery. In recent years Uku Bahā has introduced a reform on its own, after failing to persuade other monasteries to do likewise, that meat should be banned until the fourth day: the members of Uku Bahā argue that it is un-Buddhist to have a meat-feast to celebrate Monastic Initiation. Kwā Bahā, which has both Śākyas and Vajrācāryas, though the former are in a large majority, appears more Tantric than Uku Bahā: the cutting of the top-knot is performed by the boy's pater-



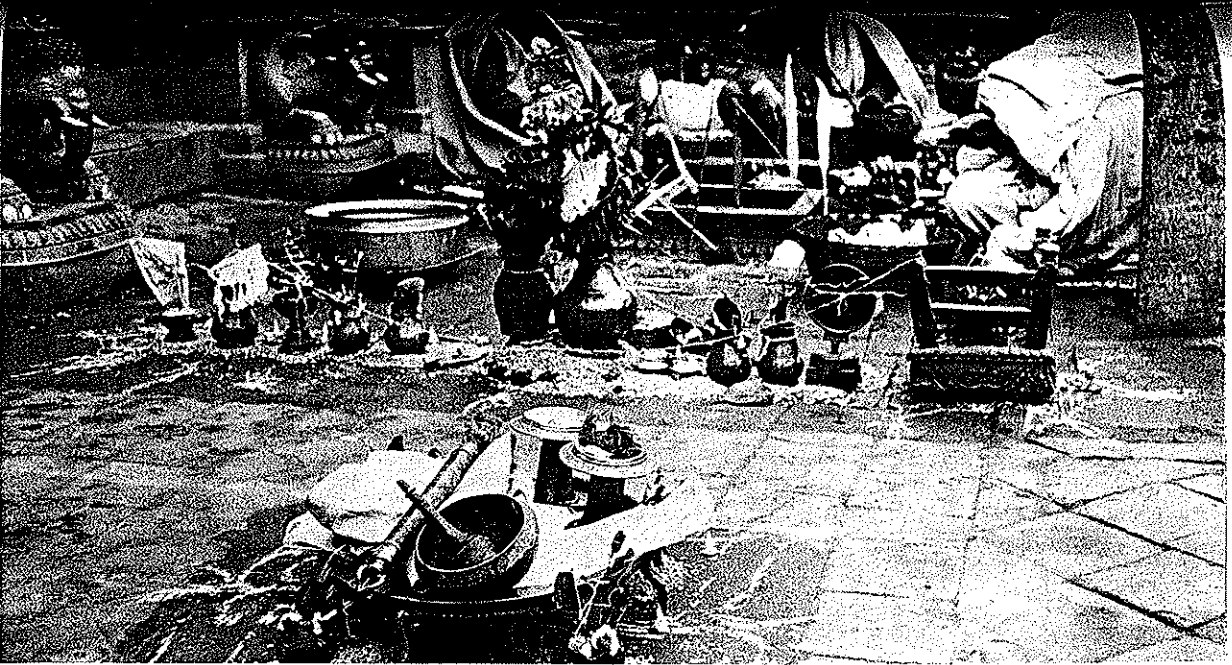
'Taking seven steps' (*nhepalā chuyegu*) in Kwā Bahā. Water is poured from the holy waterpot (*kalaśa*) by the boy's family priest.



Final rice offerings (*kīga tinegu*) at the end of the fire-sacrifice on behalf of the new monk. Seated on the low wooden bench is the second most senior elder of Hā Bahā who acted as the *mūlācarya* (main officiant) in the absence (due to illness) of the most senior elder. On his right is the third elder who substituted for the second as sponsor (*jajmān*) of the rite. On the right of the picture in the white wrap is the Rituals Officer of Ha Bahā who reads the *mantras* as the ritual is performed. The boy's father and uncle stand behind, and another elder squats, to make ritual offerings.



A neophyte has his hair cut by the barber, while his paternal aunt (*nini*) holds him and ensures that the hair is caught in the ritual plate (*thāybhū*). On the ritual plate in front cloth for the aunt and the required prestation for the barber (*libicā*) can be seen. In the background is one of the monastery elder's parasols which will be held over the newly ordained monk during the procession to his home, and also, on the floor of the monastery, a stone used to mime 'grinding lentils' (*māy kelegu*). Kwā Bahā.



The 'moon' (*candra-*) mandala established near the sacrificial fire-pit, Ha Bahā. The ground is purified by being smeared with cow-dung, and the monastic requisites (robe, staff and begging bowl) are placed on a ritual plate. Inside the begging bowl is a waterpot (*kunaḥ, kūṃdhār*) (see above, fn. 125) and behind the begging bowl are two lampstands (*dāṃbata*) with camphor, incense and yellow powder (a substitute for *gorocana*). The neophyte holds the lampstands when he first stands up after putting on the monk's robe. At the four corners of the plate, four holy waterpots are established on unhusked rice: they contain 'water of the four oceans' with which the neophyte will be consecrated. Outside these, small cones of rice (*gojā*) are placed representing the protective deities, viz. the Eight Mother-goddesses, Gaṇeśa and Bhairava. In the middle background the main *kalaśa* can be seen with a paper parasol of five stages and five colours (for the Five Buddhas) in it. Immediately next to it is the *viśvadeva-kalaśa*. At the far right hand end of the line is the *thāsāṃdyo* with an old-fashioned circular *jolānhāykāṃ* next to it, and at the far lefthand end the *bali*. For the identity of the participants see Plate 7.



Consecration with the 'water of the four oceans' (*pīsagāṃ luyegu*) in Kwā Bahā. The water is poured by the five most senior elders, including the Casalāju who pours from his conch shell, which is visible upper right.



The neophytes sit in line in the foyer to the main Tantric shrine of Kwā Bahā. (This photograph was taken by a friend of the author since he is not allowed into this room.) Their heads are marked with a *svasti* (good-luck sign) in chalk.

nal aunt's husband (FZH); the disrobing on the fourth day takes place at home and is entirely the business of the family priest or *guru*. Compared to this Bu Bahā, which is almost entirely Vajrācārya, is more Tantric. Its members do not have to provide a monastic feast for the elders (*saṃjabhū*), instead they tack on a number of overtly Tantric rituals.[71]

This is illustrated in table I. A word of warning is necessary however in the interpretation of the table. On this scale the *bahī* appear least Tantric and those *bahā* which are dominated by Vajrācāryas as most Tantric. Nonetheless the rituals of the *bahī* are almost equally pervaded by Tantric symbols: it is a matter of degree, and a slight one at that. Moreover, in the rituals which *bahī*-members perform as householders, there is no difference at all between them and other Śākyas.[72] On this scale the monas-

	Cikaṃ Bahī	Uku Bahā	Ha Bahā	Kwā Bahā	Bu Bahā
Fire-sacrifice performed	×	√	√	√	√
Top-knot cut by FZH	×	×	×	√	√
Return to lay life in hands of family priest (*purohit*)	×	×	×	√	√
Elders do not have to be fed	×	×	×	×	√
Evening Rite obligatory	×	×	√a	×	√

× = lack quality in question, √ = possesses it

TABLE 1: Five criteria for judging the degree of Tantricity of different Lalitpur monasteries in their method of performing Monastic Initiation.

(a). The members of Ha Bahā are, with one exception, all Vajrācāryas. However they were made into Vajrācāryas only when their monastery was moved to its present site to allow the royal palace to be extended and so none of them have parishioners (see Locke's forthcoming work 'Buddhist Monasteries of Nepal Valley'). On the evidence of this table they are in fact, as far as their monastic rites are concerned, more akin to the Śākyas of Uku Bahā than to the Vajrācāryas of Bu Bahā or even to the Vajrācāryas and Śākyas of Kwā Bahā. The rites in Ha Bahā (which include the return to lay life) are all performed by the monastery's Rituals Officer. The neophyte's family priest is responsible only for rites held in the household: welcoming home after Monastic Initiation, the Evening Rite after laying down the robe, and other minor rituals.

teries of Kathmandu appear relatively un-Tantric, fitting the same column as Uku Bahā. At the same time however Kathmandu Vajrācāryas have a reputation as being more knowledgeable about Tantric rituals than Lalitpur Vajrācāryas. This might appear as a paradox, but it is not. Kathmandu monasteries may well be more conservative in their performance of Monastic Initiation, since judging by T4 and T5 they stick closely to the scheme of the *Kriyā-saṃgraha*; it is quite possible to combine conservatism as to exoteric rites with pre-eminence in esoteric ones.

Many of the elements of Monastic Initiation, as well as the basic frame, are common to other rituals, even to those of other castes. Many of the symbols are indeed common to Buddhist and Hindu ritual systems. One can only speculate on the extent to which Buddhism has been influential in forming the ritual framework in which all Newars live. In this connection the alms-giving rite of *badāṃ chuyegu* (above, p. 59) is suggestive: it occurs not only in *bare chuyegu* but during the adult initiation (*kaytā pūjā*) of all castes, and in the *ibi* (mock marriage) rite taken by girls; I have also seen it done to all the men of a Tulādhar family by their womenfolk at the end of the 'consecration of an elder' (*thakāli luyegu*). It is tempting to derive *badāṃ chuyegu* from *baredān chuyegu* which would make it mean 'the beginning of monastic alms [-receiving]'. This would then suggest that at least this part of the ritual of the lay castes has been modelled on a Buddhist monastic practice. Independently of the question of Buddhist influence, the caste-initiation rituals of *all* Newar boys focus on symbols of asceticism and renunciation whereas girls' initiation rites, as Allen (1982) has shown, emphasize the control of sexuality through marriage to a god.

One Śākya explained to me that Monastic Initiation is done to boys at a young age so that they will not conceive the desire to continue as a monk, but return to lay life as their parents desire. In the course of a lecture given on 1 July 1983 Bhadri Ratna Vajracharya said that the point was to ensure that Śākya and Vajrācārya boys do not convert to other religions. There is some truth in both these views. The first reflects that fact that Monastic Initiation has become a life-crisis ritual which integrates Śākyas and Vajrācāryas into their caste and marks the onset of adulthood. The second reflects the important fact that by shaving off their sons' top-knots Śākyas and Vajrācāryas ensure that they are placed outside the Hindu varṇa scheme. These days this cannot prevent them from being lay devotees of Hindu saints or from converting to Islam or

Christianity. However, remarkably few do any such thing, and historically it has been an effective means of preserving Buddhist identity in a Hindu environment.

Monastic Initiation in Kathmandu, as presented in T5 and elsewhere, contrasted with Monastic Initiation in Lalitpur

Part 6 below presents the translation of a published ritual handbook from Kathmandu. The text follows very closely the *Kriyāsaṃgraha* (henceforth KS), an early twelfth-century text by Kuladatta, which knowledgeable Newar Buddhists often assert to be one of the main sources of their tradition.[73] The section of KS dealing with Monastic Initiation is incorporated almost entirely (the exceptions are trivial) into the modern text.

It will be seen from the translation that KS provided the more monastic and less ritualistic parts of the ceremony. However KS ends its account with the words 'for fear of making the text too long other instructions have not been included' (KS2: 256). Very likely then, many other elements which make up the modern ceremony already existed in the twelfth century. Unfortunately their exclusion from KS makes it impossible to be sure which of the non-monastic parts are old and which are not.

It seems safe to conclude however that the ritual structure (as opposed to particular elements) described in T5 is more recent than that of KS, since T5 uses KS while breaking up its text, not always in the most coherent manner. Thus the worship of the three mandalas of the Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha (below, p. 82–4) is inserted in mid-sentence (*-pūrvakam . . . triśaraṇaṃ*). T4 is more logical, placing the name-giving, Triple Refuge and Ten Precepts immediately after one another, and only then enjoining the worship of the three mandalas. T5 displays another striking inconsistency: the neophytes put on their monks' robes before the name-giving (p. 82), but then, some pages later (p. 88), after the worship of the three mandalas, the Ten Precepts and authorizations, they put them on again, in accordance with the text taken from KS! It is clear from Locke's description (1975: 9) that it is in fact the earlier instruction which is operative: the latter is simply part of a liturgy borrowed wholesale. Whether read out in Sanskrit or Newari (in practice usually Newari, as we have seen in describing the ritual in Kwā Bahā, Lalitpur) it is simply part of the sacred utterance—locally called *mantra* in its broadest sense—which priests recite, and not part of the ritual instructions.

The monastic parts of the rite, although their immediate source is KS, go back much further. As Lienhard (1985: 271) has pointed out, certain of them are very similar to the Sarvāstivādin ceremonial utterances used in ordaining a monk given in Banerjee (1949). It is to be hoped that Lienhard's forthcoming work on Newar Buddhist initiation rites will establish and throw light upon these historical connections.

I do not know how far the Kathmandu monasteries all perform Monastic Initiation in line with T4 and T5, that is, sticking closely to KS. It is possible that some Kathmandu monasteries have adapted their rules away from this model as the Lalitpur monasteries have done. This would explain why P.V. Vajracharya wishes to establish 'uniformity of rituals' by publishing T5. Unfortunately he does not make clear how and in what ways he believes the current practice to be heterogeneous or unorthodox. In spite of this uncertainty I would advance the hypothesis that Kathmandu monasteries preserve a more monastic tradition, one also found in the *bahī* of Lalitpur. I have described elsewhere (Gellner, 1987) reasons for believing that the *bahī* deliberately preserved more archaic practices. This would explain the similarity of Cikaṃ Bahī, Lalitpur, to what I take to be the Kathmandu pattern.

Table II shows how the ritual as performed in Cikaṃ Bahī contains worship of the maṇḍalas of Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha, as that of Kwā Bahā does not. Were it possible to consult the ritual handbook of the *bahī*-priest, it would be possible to establish whether the ritual is supposed also to contain a recitation of the Ten Precepts and a long authorization of monastic requisites, as in the Kathmandu ritual. What is clear is that the ritual as practised in Kwā Bahā, Lalitpur—and one can assert with some confidence that most other *bahā* of Lalitpur are the same—has greatly compressed the monastic part of the ritual, replacing the classical precepts for instance, with (often rather crude) *śloka* verses. Instead of a recitation of the Ten Precepts *after* becoming a monk, there is an elaborate explanation of the Five Precepts of a layman and the Ten Unproductive Sins (see above pp. 52–4 & 97–8) *before* ordination. Furthermore, while in the Kathmandu ritual the neophyte while still a householder is supposed, according to the rubric of the text, to undertake the Five Precepts (as he takes the Ten when a monk), in the Lalitpur ritual the only undertakings put in the neophyte's mouth are to take refuge in the Buddha and to follow the Observance of Going-forth lifelong: the Five Precepts are explained by the *guru*, but the disciple does not repeat them. In short, the Lalitpur *bahā* Monastic Initiation has placed

Table II: Summary of main monastic rites, comparing a Lalitpur *bahā* and *bahī*, Jana Bahā (Kathmandu) and two handbooks from Kathmandu.

Kwā Bahā, Lalitpur	Cikaṃ Bahī, Lalitpur[a]	Jana Bahā Kathmandu (Locke, 1975)	T5	T4
Top-knot cut	Top-knot cut	Top-knot cut	Top-knot cut	Top-knot cut
Lustration	Worship of mandalas of 3 Jewels & Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara[b]	Lustration	Lustration	Lustration
New Name	Lustration	Robe presented and put on	Robe presented and put on	Robe presented and put on
Robe, bowl & staff with (very brief) authorization	Robe presented and put on	New name with saffron *tilaka*	New name with golden *tilaka*	New name
Golden *tilaka*	Golden *tilaka*	Worship of mandalas of *3 Jewels and Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara*	Worship of mandalas of *3 Jewels*	Taking refuge in *3 Jewels*
Concluding rites (incl. *dāṇ* to new monks)	*Mantradān*[c] (giving mantra)	Ten Precepts	Taking refuge in 3 Jewels	Ten Precepts
	Concluding rites	Begging bowl and staff presented with authorization	Ten Precepts	Worship of mandalas of 3 Jewels
		Concluding rites	Authorization of robe, staff etc.	Authorization of robe, staff, etc.
			Concluding rites	Golden *tilaka* and new name[d]
				Concluding rites

a) This is based on observation of the rite only.
b) Note that the addition of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara's mandala is not peculiar to Jana Bahā as Locke thought (1975: 10).

relatively greater emphasis on lay aspects, and less emphasis on strictly monastic undertakings.

All this is consonant with the greater stress on the householder—in Buddhological terms, on the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna—characteristic of the *bahā* as opposed to the *bahī* (see Gellner, 1987). It also fits with another fact which suggests that monastic traditions were better preserved in Kathmandu *bahā* than in Lalitpur *bahā*, viz. that Śākyas in Kathmandu most commonly used to call themselves 'Śākyabhikṣu' (Buddhist monk) whereas the Śākyas of Lalitpur preferred 'Śākyavaṃśa' (of the Buddha's lineage). This relative conservatism of Kathmandu Buddhists with regard to Monastic Initiation goes back, probably, several hundred years. An explanation for it, if it were possible to find one, would have to be sought in the Malla period. It has nothing to do with the relative *lack* of conservatism associated with Kathmandu in the modern period (post 1951).

These differences between Kathmandu and Lalitpur are interesting because they show the different emphases that can be given to different parts of the Buddhist heritage (and I have no doubt that conclusions on this score will have to be modified and qualified in the light of future research). All the same it would be wrong to give these differences so much significance as to ignore the more basic, underlying common ground. In the Monastic Initiation of Kathmandu as actually practised the most prominent ritual act the neophyte performs is to worship the mandalas of Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha; by contrast the Ten Precepts are only recited *for him*. Worship of the Three Jewels is not confined to monks, but defines one as a Buddhist, monk *or* lay. Worship of the Three Jewels in their mandalas defines one as a (clean-caste) lay adherent of Newar Buddhism: it marks the neophyte's incorporation into Newar Buddhism lifelong, and not just for the four days that he remains a monk. In Kathmandu, then, as much as in Lalitpur (minor emphases apart), the devotional and social sides of Monastic Initiation are most important for the neophyte himself. And these facts have had their influence on the rite itself.

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c) This is what locals and onlookers say is happening. If it were possible to consult the *bahī*-priest's handbooks it might be revealed that in fact the neophyte is being given a new name.

d) The reduplication of name-giving occurs because T4 (like T5, as noted above) attempts to include KS into what is in fact a later ritual structure.

Śākyas and Vajrācāryas regard monachism somewhat equivocally: it is honoured, but in the breach. It is a stage on the way to a higher status, that of the married Tantric initiate, who incorporates monk-hood while surpassing it. He may therefore act as a monk in some contexts, and emphasize lay and devotional aspects of Buddhism in others. Hence the stress, when the monk's robes are laid down, on taking Tantric Initiation later in life. The importance of Tantric Buddhism reflects and reinforces the high value that all Newars, whether Buddhist or not, place on marriage. Now however that there are many ordained Newar monks, both Theravāda and Tibetan Mahāyāna, there are many Newar Buddhists who question, implicitly or explicitly, the validity of the traditional Newar Buddhist ideology which relegates celibate monks to the lowest level. It is not for the western scholar to pass judgement on these three types of Buddhism; it should be noted however that in the debate between them, at times outspoken, at times only implied, since the 1930s, the traditional Tantric Buddhism of the Newars has been severely handicapped by the very features which were probably an asset to it at an earlier period of its history: viz., its reliance on the reverence due to tradition; its cult of secrecy; its ability to appear similar and parallel to Hinduism; its willingness to make its monastic organizations conform to caste regulations; its constitution as a local tradition without allegiance to Buddhist organizations outside the country.

Translation of 'The Rite of Tonsure' (= T5)

In the translation which follows all the notes are mine. I have corrected *svahā* to *svāhā* and *praticcha* to *pratīccha* throughout. Propitiatory offerings to lower powers (*bali*) I have rendered in English as 'spirit-offerings', but the verb 'to offer' is used for all types of deity. Offerings into the fire (*āhuti*) I have translated as 'oblation'. In the main body of the text there are four types of passage:

(i) Ritual instructions in Newari. These I have translated into English, where necessary citing the Newari in parenthesis. In a ritual these parts are not recited but simply followed.

(ii) Sanskrit *mantras*, or verses treated as *mantras*. These I have left in Sanskrit and provided a translation, given in brackets. These are recited as part of the ritual. As such the author of T5 does not provide a Newari translation. By their own inherent power these utterances bring

about a ritual act (whether ear-piercing, consecrating or simply worshipping) and for this they do not need to be understood by the neophyte.

(iii) Sanskrit passages—always given here in Sanskrit—and (iv) the Newari translation or gloss on those passages which always follows immediately—here given in English. Both (iii) and (iv) are part of the 'explanation' of the rite. These passages consist mostly of exchanges between the *guru* and the pupil (*śiṣya*), and where this is so I have put my translation of the Newari translation of the Sanskrit into quotation marks.[74] Where the Newari diverges significantly from the Sanskrit I have added my own translation of the Sanskrit in brackets. In practice such passages, both *guru* and pupil's parts, are simply recited by the priest (in the manner explained above, p. 52) in old Newari, not in Sanskrit or modern Newari as given here. (iii) and (iv) represent the Śrāvakayāna essence as well as what are probably the oldest parts of the rites; (i) and (ii) the local, and Vajrayānist, ritual framework into which the former has been set.

Large portions of (iii) are lifted from KS and these are marked with an asterisk (*). Those—much briefer—passages also corresponding to Banerjee's *Bhikṣukarmavākya* are marked with 'S'. As the *Kriyāsaṃgraha* has not been edited I have consulted two readily available versions of the manuscript. KS1 = Shastri (1917: 123–6, where the section on *pravrajyāgrahaṇa* is reproduced); KS2 = Rani (1977). Where both agree I have cited this as 'KS'.

THE RITE OF TONSURE (*Cūḍākarma Vidhāna*),
compiled by Padmashri Vajra Vajracharya,
published by Pushpa Shakya.

Dedicated to the late Paṇḍit and elder of Gaṃ Bahā
Nilavajra Vajracharya
by his son Padmashri.[75]

Introduction

Of all our caste rituals[76] tonsure is among the foremost social duties. The reason we have an ancient tradition of tonsure is for the protection, not merely of our caste identity, but of our traditional religion (*kula dharma*) too. Furthermore, tonsure has very considerable importance because in it one undertakes the Five and the Ten Precepts, by keeping which one gives meaning

to his life as a human, and thereby begins on the path which can ultimately lead to the attainment of Buddhahood. For those able to do so, to pass one's whole life as a monk is extremely worthy. It is one of the unique characteristics of our caste that, even though we are unable to pass our whole life as a monk, we preserve the custom of spending four days as one.

Many hand-written books of the tonsure rite are available. I have translated into Newari the Sanskrit version of my father, Paṇḍit Nilavajra, and Paṇḍit Amogha Vajra Vajracharya, in the hope that our rituals may become uniform. I dedicate it to my deceased father's memory.

Shri Dibya Vajra gave me much encouragement to fulfil this desire and much help to carry it out. I am eternally grateful to him. I hope that I can count on such help in the future.

My heartfelt thanks are also due to my parishioner (*yajamāna*), Mr Pushpa Shakya, who so generously took upon himself the costs of publication. May he always be generous in such meritorious works. I give my blessing that Mr Shakya should enjoy the utmost good fortune as a result of this generosity.

If our priests (*guru*) of both parts of Kathmandu take a copy each of this book and follow it in holding the Monastic Initiation rite, uniformity of rituals will certainly result, which is the express aim of this publication. I have written it in a simple style of current Newari which everyone can understand. Since this is my first such effort I ask the reader's forgiveness for any mistakes and I hope that they can be corrected at the time of reprinting.

I am grateful too for the help of Mr Bhai Ratna Vajracharya, the foreman of the Fine Art Printing Press, for his help in bringing out the book.

2039 Māgh Śrī Pañcamī	Editor, Padmashri Vajra Vajracharya,
(N.S. 1103 Sillāthwa)	elder, Hemavarṇa Mahāvihāra
[= 19/1/1983]	(Gaṃ Bahā), Kathmandu.

Preface by the Publisher

Monastic Initiation (*bare chuyegu*) is the third of our caste rituals following inevitably after birth rites (*macābū beṃkegu*) and first rice-feeding (*jaṃko*). Only after Monastic Initiation is one a full member our caste (*jāti*). At the same time one becomes a true Buddhist (*buddhamārgī*) according to the rules of our Buddhist religion. And by the same token our family religion (*kula*

dharma) is also maintained. Maintaining our family religion is indeed our public duty as men. Seen in this light, the unique importance of Monastic Initiation is clear. Furthermore, all the different caste rituals that we traditionally perform have each their own meaning and importance. It is only because we haven't studied them that we have become ignorant of it.

I am overjoyed to be able to help in publishing this Tonsure Rite manual, printing it as a pamphlet in accordance with the modern age, and thus to fulfil the desire of *guru* Shri Padmashri Vajra Vajracharya. I believe that it will be of use to all priests (*guru*) and all those who undergo the *bare chuyegu* rite. If so, it will be worthwhile.

Publisher, Pushpa Shakya, Navaghat, Kathmandu.

Materials needed for bare chuyegu:

Gold circle [placed under *kalaśa*]	2	Pairs of areca nut and betel leaf	20
Silver circle	2	Black & yellow powder and cheap red powder	sufficient
Gold powder	sufficient	Rice for establishing deities *pha* (Nep. *pāṭhi*)	4
Worship materials	sufficient	Wicks, thread offerings, incense of two types	sufficient
Gold razor	1	Clarified butter, honey	sufficient
Silver razor	1	Small clay waterpots	4
Gold needle	1	Pestle and mortar	1
Silver needle	1	Necklace	1
Hanging container		Belt	1
Copper plate	1	Parasol	1
Packets of the five jewels	1	Shoulder-piece (*rūcigā*)	1
Ritual plate	3	Thread and bases [for *kalaśa* etc.]	
tripod (*mas*)	1	Ritual waterpot (*kalaśa*)	1
Cheap thread	1	Paper sign of bell (*gāgpaṃ*)	1
Five-coloured thread	1	*Nāga*-parasol [sits in *kalaśa*]	1
Red cloth	sufficient	Bowls for grain offerings	32
Welcoming cloth	sufficient	Cooking pot for spirit-offering-rice	1
'Wrap' for ritual waterpot	1		
Monastic staff	1		
Begging bowl (*gulupā*)	1		
Monastic robe	1		
Fire-sacrifice ladle	1		
'Loin cloth'-string	sufficient		
'Full oblation' packet	1		
Water of the four oceans			

Spirit mask	1	Pair of monastic shoes	1
[Buffalo-] intestines	1	Cloves	9
Buffalo meat chunk	1	Betel leaves	9
'Little bulls' [= small	1	Waterpot (*kuṃdhār*)	1
spirit-offerings]	sufficient	String loincloth	1
Two kinds of ritual flags	sufficient	Unbaked bricks [for the fire sacrifice]	32
Straw plate [for prestation to barber]	1	Various flowers	

Offering the areca nuts (gwedāṃ tayegu)[77]

Four days before *bare chuyegu* a five-requisite (*pañcopacāra*) worship should be performed to the main deity of the monastery, and the boys sit before him holding their offering (*dakṣiṇā*) of ten areca nuts and two betel leaves each. They should recite the following petition (*prārthanā*):

> *Sarvabuddhaṃ namasyāmi dharmañ ca jinabhāṣitaṃ*
> *Sanghañ ca śīlasampannaṃ ratnatrayaṃ namas tu te*[78]
> *Pravrajyāgrahaṇārthāya yuṣmākaṃ pūjanāya ca*
> *Nimantrayāmi*[79] *yuṣmabhyaṃ pūgatāmbulakādibhiḥ*
> *Gṛhāṇa bhagavann etān śraddhayā ḍhaukitān*[80] *prabho*
> *Pravrajyāṃ vidhivat kṛtvā dehi me kṛpayā vibho*

'Oh *guru* Preceptor! I do full-length obeisance to all the Buddhas. I do full-length obeisance to the Doctrine (*dharma*) taught by the Buddhas. I do full-length obeisance to those [i.e the elders] of the monastic association (*saṃghapiṃ*) who are fully accomplished in morality (*śīla*). In order to undertake the Going-forth we offer to you, along with areca nuts and betel leaves, the fivefold worship (flowers, incense, light, powder and comestibles). Please accept this invitation and make us gone forth.'

They offer the areca nuts, betel leaves and a *kisli* [G] to the deity. They also offer them, as required, to the main priest, his assistant, the five elders etc.

This is the rite of placing areca nuts. The following day after the shaving [of the boy's father, if he is to be the sponsor, *jaymā*], have the *chwelābhū* [G] and invite the neophyte's paternal aunts.[81]

Rites of the previous day (dusa)

One day before *bare chuyegu* a *kalaśa pūjā* is performed in the monastery. Establish a holy waterpot, yoghurt pots. lamp and one

spirit-offering. Do the explanation of the ritual (*nimitta*): *pravajyāvrata-grahaṇārthe keśādhivāsana-karmaṇi kalaśārcanapūjānimittyarthe* [in order to undertake the Observance of Going-forth, in the rite of establishing the hair, for the sake of the worship involving offerings to the waterpot].[82]

First wash the feet (of the elders), do *guru maṇḍala*, (purification with) the five products of a cow, put on powder spot. Summon the Tantric deity, worship of the yoghurt pots and lamp. Worship of the main deity, spirit offering. Then lead in the neophytes in the correct order and sit them down. Have them do the *guru maṇḍala*, worship light, dismissal. Establish the pupils (*śiṣyādhivāsana*): purification (with rapeseed and mustard seed), protection by key and by *vajra*, sprinkle the five products of a cow, and then have the pupils supplicate (*binti*) thus:

Adhyeṣayāmy ahaṃ nāthaṃ tvaṃ me śāstā mahāvibho
Asmākam anukampāya bhikṣubhāvaṃ dadātu naḥ
Anekaguṇasaṃyuktaṃ trailokye durlabhaṃ padam
Asmad-arthena hi nātha sarveṣāṃ duḥkhabhāginām
Hitasukhanimittāya buddhatvapadaṃ prāptaye

'Oh Lord Oh *guru*! take pity on us and make us monks. We respectfully beg you for instruction so that we may be able to attain that level of Buddhahood which is so difficult to obtain in the three worlds of heaven, earth and hell, and which has innumerable good qualities; we ask it so that the sufferings of all living beings may be done away with, in other words, in order to bring about their welfare and happpiness.'

Then consecrate them with water from the holy water pot. The elder (of the monastery) should attach gold to their top-knot. Pour the wooden *pha*-measure pot over them. 'Circle worship' [of all the gods in the area]. Final rice offerings, offer *sagaṃ*[G]. Put on powder spot, priestly fee, blessing, dismissal. Have *nisalā* [G] given, worship in the Tantric shrine. Eat *samay*, snacks, feast, send off leavings. Purify mouth. Have the boys fed with pure food. From this day meat, alcohol, salt and impure food are forbidden. This is the rite of the previous day.

The rite of Going-forth (pravrajyā grahaṇa vidhi)

Obeisance to the Three Jewels. First establish the deities: *caitya*, Prajñāpāramitā and Lokeśvara [i.e. representing Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha respectively], the holy waterpot, yoghurt pots, serpent-offering, the moon *maṇḍala* should be drawn on the sacred

plate (*thāybhū*) and with the waterpot, the gold and silver razors, robe, staff, begging bowl and necklace, it should be placed on top of the tripod. The monastic sandals, pestle, straw plate, five products of a cow, begging bowl, the priest's helmet [showing four Buddhas], the pots with water of the four oceans, spirit-offering along with the fire sacrifice pit should all be established.

Recite the reason (for the rite): *cūḍākaraṇapūrvaka-pravrajyāvrata-grahaṇārthe kalaśādhivāsana-caturasamudra-raviśaśi-makuṭa-devatārādhana havyakavyādi-homakarma-triratnadevatārādhana-pūjā-nimittyartham* [in order that the Observance of Going-forth preceded by tonsure should be achieved, to summon and worship the Three Jewels, in a properly executed fire sacrifice with the drawing in of the deities of the (priest's) helmet, the Sun and the Moon and water of the four oceans should be established in the waterpot].

First do the foot worship (of elders). Start *guru maṇḍala*, give the five products of a cow, put on a powder spot [i.e. to the sponsor, *jaymā*, usually the elder of the monastery]. Worship according to the rule the main deity [of the monastery] and the ritual waterpot (*kalaśa*). Establish Agni [the firegod], worship gods, offerings into firepit, do statement of intention (*saṃkalpa*) of the red-cloth (*kasāḥgā*). Then bring the boys in. Sit them down in order. *Guru maṇḍala*, lamp worship, dismissal.

Tippaṇī.

**Idānīṃ pravrajyāgrahaṇam ucyate. Tad uktaṃ vinaye. Ācāryopadhyāyaiḥ pravrājayitavyam upasaṃpādi-tavyam[83] bhikṣavo na jānanti kathaṃ pravrājayi-tavyam iti. Bhagavān āha. Yasya kasya cit pravrajyāyai[84] upasaṃkrāmati sa tenāsau antar-āyikān dharmān dṛṣṭvā[85] ādau triśaraṇagamanāni pañcaśikṣāpa-dān upāsakasaṃvarañ ca dātavyaṃ caitya-vandanaṃ kārayitvā ācāryasya purato maṇḍalaṃ kārayitvā utkuṭakāsano 'njaliṃ pragṛhya evaṃ vaktavyam.*

Now it may be that on the day of Going-forth one may be ignorant of the rite for monks going forth (so it is explained). The preceptor (*ācārya*) and his assistant (*upādhyāya*) must carry out the going forth (*pravrajyā*) and the initiation (*upasaṃpadā*). When laymen come to be allowed to go forth they must be initiated only if they have not committed the obstacles (*antarāyika dharma*), that is, the five great sins. Hence, when going

forth one must go for refuge to the Three Jewels and take the Five Precepts. The pupils must worship the *caitya*, perform worship of the mandala in the presence of the preceptor and then sitting on their haunches with their hands in supplication they must make this request:

> Pupil:
> * *Aham itthaṃnāmā yāvajjīvaṃ Buddhasya śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi dvipadānām agram.*
> *Dharmasya śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi virāgānām agram.*
> *Saṃghasya śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi gaṇānām agram.*
> [I, of such-and-such name, go for refuge to the Buddha, who is foremost among bipeds, for the whole of my life . . . etc.]

'Oh *guru* Oh Lord! I/we go for refuge to the most excellent Buddha as long as I/we live among beings. I/we go for refuge to the Teaching, foremost because it is free of all passion. I/we go for refuge to the Monastic Association, foremost of associations. Three times I/we go for refuge.'

Then the *guru* gives the Five Precepts by saying:

> *Māraṇaṃ caurikaṃ cāpi parapatnīṃ mṛṣāvacaḥ*
> *Tyaktavyaṃ sarpavat sarvaṃ paṃcamaṃ madyam eva ca*
> [Killing, stealing, others' wives and telling lies are all to be abandoned like a snake; and fifthly, alcohol too.]

'Those who keep the Five Precepts must never kill, steal, commit adultery (*vyabhicāra*), tell lies or drink alcohol.'

> Pupil:
> * *Aham itthaṃnāmā yāvajjīvaṃ prāṇatipātāt prativiramāmi*
> *Aham itthaṃnāmā yāvajjīvam adattadānāt prativiramāmi*
> *Aham itthaṃnāma yāvajjīvaṃ kāmamithyācārāt prativiramāmi*
> *Aham itthaṃnāma yāvajjīvaṃ mṛṣāvādāt prativiramāmi*
> *Aham itthaṃnāma yāvajjīvaṃ surāmaireya-madya-pramādasthānāt prativiramāmi.*[86]

'1. Oh *guru* Oh Lord! I/we give up harming creatures for the rest of our life.
2. Similarly I/we give up stealing and taking what is not given for the rest of our life.
3. We give up also adultery with another's wife.
4. We give up telling untruths and lies for the rest of our life.

5. We give up as long as we live such substances as beer, spirits and so on which are likely to intoxicate.'[87]

Preceptor:

* *Evaṃ triśaraṇagamanaṃ pañcaśikṣāpadāni ca dhārayitvā ācāryaṃ prārthayet.*[88]

When they have gone for refuge and taken the Five Precepts in this way, the pupils should address the preceptor thus:

* *Samanvāhara aham itthaṃnāmācārya yāce* nāmācāryenāham[89] *pravrājayiṣye.*[90]

[Bear witness, Preceptor, I, of such-and-such name, request (you). I shall be made to go forth by you as preceptor.]

'Oh Preceptor! Please in your compassion make us go forth.'

Puna upādhyāya

Samanvāhara upādhyāya aham itthaṃnāmā bhavān upādhyāyo bhūtvā upādhyāyenāhaṃ pravrājayiṣye.[91]

'Oh Assistant-preceptor! Please do you also have compassion for us and make us go forth.'

Now (recite) the 100-syllables [of Vajrasattva] and do the dismissal of the [*guru*] *maṇḍala*. Have the boys put flowers from it behind the ear. Do the rites of purification with rapeseed and mustard seed, touching with *vajra* and key, showing light, pouring the *pha*-measure pot. Tie the loin-cloth (*aruwā* [= *aduwā*]) while reciting the *oṃ vajra sandhi* verse.

Read the goodluck verse three times over the straw plate and then the elder of the monastery hands it over (to the barber). The elder's wife leads the neophytes down with a key. Do worship of the barber's hand and hand over the razor. Have the boys grind lentils and rub them with oil and wheatflour paste. Their paternal aunt should collect the hair as it falls into the plate (*thāybhū*). Have his nails cut and have him bathe using the *amba* fruit and sesame seeds and some water from the holy waterpot and the conch shell (of the priest). Now sit them down in their own places. Sprinkle with the five products of a cow.

Guru:

* *Adyāpi tvaṃ gṛhiṇāṃ*[92] *samānam eva. Kiṃ prayojanaṃ pravrajyāyāṃ niścaya iti. Yadi bravīti niścaya iti.*[92]

[Up until now you are the equivalent of householders. For what purpose are you determined to go forth? If you say 'I am determined' ...][93]

'Up until now you are the equivalent of householders. When the *guru* asked why you were about to go forth and whether or not you had decided to become monks, you replied that you definitely wished to become monks and requested the *guru* to do so.'

Now draw a goodluck sign (*svasti*) in a mandala before the deity and lay out the welcoming cloth. They should stand with their palms joined in supplication while the elder cuts off their top-knot at the auspicious time. Read the goodluck verse and append the following:

> *Oṃ sarvāvaraṇa viśodhane sarvajñānāvaraṇa cchedaya chedaya hūm svāhā.*
> [*Oṃ* purifier of all obstacles, cut away all obstacles to wisdom *hūṃ svāhā.*]

The paternal aunt catches the hair in the plate. Now the *mantra* for making a hole in the ear with the gold and silver needles:

> *Oṃ dharmaśabda vedhikaraṇe svāhā.*
> [*Oṃ* the sound of the Dharma, piercing, *svāhā*]

Then the four elders remove their (right) arm from their sleeve, wrap around (their shoulder) the cloth (*kasāgā*) and with the *guru*, who wipes and purifies his mouth first, the five of them consecrate with water. The *guru* pours water from his conch shell. The four elders pour from the four clay pots with the water of the four oceans. Recite:

> *Yan maṅgalaṃ sakalasattvahṛdisthitasya*
> *Sarvātmakasya varadharmakulādhipasya*
> *Niḥśeṣadoṣarahitasya mahāsukhasya*
> *Tan maṅgalaṃ bhavatu te paramābhiṣekaḥ.*
>
> *Yan mangalam suranarāsurapūjitasya*
> *Dharmasya tena kathitasya anuttarasya*
> *Lokatraya-praṇihitasya nirātmakasya*
> *Tan maṅgalaṃ bhavatu te paramābhiṣekaḥ.*
>
> *Yan maṅgalaṃ pravaradharmaratasya nityaṃ*
> *Sattvopakārajanitasya mahāsukhasya*
> *Lokatrayapraṇihitasya nirātmakasya*
> *Tan maṅgalaṃ bhavatu te paramābhiṣekaḥ.*[94]
>
> [All the auspiciousness of the overlord of all the families of the best Dharma [i.e. the Buddha], who is in the heart of all beings, who is identical with everything, entirely free of all blemish,

and supremely blissful—may all this auspiciousness accrue to you: this is the best consecration. All the auspiciousness of the ultimate doctrine [the Dharma] taught by him, which is revered by gods, anti-gods and men, which is intended for all three worlds, and is without essence—may all this auspiciousness apply to you: this is the best consecration. All the everlasting auspiciousness of that which delights in this best of teachings [i.e. the Saṃgha], which was created for the good of beings, which is characterized by supreme bliss, aspires to help the three worlds and is selfless—may all this auspiciousness accrue to you: this is the best consecration.]

Now remove the loincloth (*aduwā*). Let each sit in his place. The elder should sprinkle them with water from the conch shell. Baring the shoulder he should hand over the red robe. Have them put it on.

Pupil:
* *Aham ittbaṃnāmā yāvajjīvaṃ gṛhīliṅgam parityajyāmi pravrajyāliṅgaṃ sāmādade.*[95]

'Oh *guru*, we have abandoned the householder's dress for the whole of our lives and take up the monk's robe. Thus you have requested the *guru* to hand over the robe.'

Let each present one rupee fee (*dakṣiṇā*) [to the priest].

* *Tataḥ pravrajyācittam āmukhībhāvaṃ kṛtvā pravrājayet gṛhasthīnāmā parityāgena nikāyānurūpeṇa bhikṣunāmoccaraṇapūrvakaṃ.*

'Now since you have decided to live as monks you shall be enabled to go forth. And instead of your householder's name you shall be given a name in accordance with this tradition (*nikāya*).'

Applying the gold spot (to the forehead) give a (new) name:

> *He Śrī Ānanda, Śāliputra, Maudgalyāyana, Kāśyapa, Dharmaśrī Śrīmitra* (sic), *Śālasāgara, Vinayaśrī Nāma, Vitarāga, nāma bhikṣu bhuvaḥ sva.*[96]
> [You shall be a monk called . . . etc.]

Now they should take the triple refuge. Draw the mandalas of the Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha. Have them offer flowers. First offer one by circling it around the Buddhamaṇḍala and offering it to the rice cone (*gojā*):

Oṃ buddhamaṇḍale sarvavighnān nucchādaye hūṃ[97]

Oṃ āryavairocanasya vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā (middle)
Oṃ āryākṣobhyāya vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā (front)
Oṃ ratnasambhavāya vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā (left)
Oṃ amitābhāya vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā (top)
Oṃ amoghasiddhaye vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā (right)
Oṃ locanītārāyai vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā (front left)
Oṃ māmakīya vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā (top left)
Oṃ pāṇḍulāyai vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā (top right)
Oṃ tārāyai vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā (front right)

Do fivefold worship, recite the following praises (*stuti*):

Buddhaṃ trailokyanāthaṃ suranaranamitaṃ[98]
Pārasaṃsāratīraṃ dhīraṃ gāmbhīryavantaṃ
Sakalaguṇanidhiṃ dharmarājābhiṣiktaṃ
Tṛṣṇāmohāndhakāraṃ kalikaluṣaharaṃ
Kāmalobhādivarjaṃ tam vande śākyasiṃhaṃ
Praṇamitaśirasā sarvakālaṃ namāmi.

[With bowed head I worship at all times the Buddha, Lord of the three worlds, revered by gods and men: he is the lion of the Śākyas and he is the further shore of existence; he is steady, deep, a store of good qualities; he was consecrated as the king of Dharma; (he destroys) thirst, delusion and darkness; he removes the impurities of this world-age; he is devoid of all desire, greed and the rest.][99].

Now offer flowers to the Dharmamaṇḍala. First encircle the mandala and offer a flower to the rice cone:[100]

Oṃ dharmamaṇḍale sarvavighnān uchadaye hūṃ.
Oṃ āryaprajñāpāramitāyai vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā (middle)
Oṃ āryagaṇḍavyūhāyai vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā (front)
Oṃ āryadaśabhūmīśvarāya vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā (left)
Oṃ āryasamādhirājāya vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā (top)
Oṃ āryalaṅkāvatārāyai vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā (right)
Oṃ āryasaddharmapuṇḍarīkāya vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā (front left)
Oṃ āryatathāgataguhyakāyai vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīcchā svāhā (top left)
Oṃ āryalalitavistarāyai vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā (top right)

Do fivefold worship. (Recite the) verse:

Yā sarvajñatayā nayaty apaśamaṃ śāntaiṣiṇaḥ śrāvakān

Yā mārgajñatayā jagaddhitakṛtāṃ lokārthasampādikā
Sarvākāram idaṃ vadanti munayo viśvaṃ yayā saṃgatāḥ
Tasyai[101] *śrāvakabodhisattvagaṇināṃ buddhasya mātre namaḥ.*

[Obeisance to the Mother of the Buddha and of the groups of the Disciples and of Bodhisattvas! The sages who have come together with her say she is the whole of this universe; her omniscience leads to quietude the Disciples who seek peace; by means of her knowledge of the Path she fulfils the worldly ends of those [viz. *bodhisattvas*] intent on the good of the world.]

Next offer flowers to the Saṃghamaṇḍala. First encircle the mandala with flower and offer it to the rice cone:[102]

Oṃ saṃghamaṇḍale sarvavighnān ucchādaye hūṃ
Oṃ āryāvalokiteśvarāya vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā (middle)
Oṃ maitrīya vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā (front)
Oṃ gaganagañjāya vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā (left)
Oṃ samantabhadrāya vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā (top)
Oṃ vajrapāṇaye vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā (right)
Oṃ mañjughoṣāya vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā (front left)
Oṃ sarvaṇivaraṇaviṣkambhine vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā (top left)
Oṃ kṣitigarbhāya vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā (top right)
Oṃ khagarbhāya vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā (front right)

Do fivefold worship. Recite:

Buddhaṃ namāmi satataṃ varapadmapāṇiṃ
Maitryātmakaṃ gaganagañjaṃ samantabhadraṃ
Yakṣādhipaṃ parahitodyata-mañjughoṣaṃ
Viṣkambhinaṃ kṣitigabhaṃ praṇamāmi bhaktyā.

[I do obeisance to the Buddha again and again, to the best Padmapāṇi [i.e. Avalokiteśvara], to him who is love incarnate [i.e. Maitreya], to Gaganagañja, to Samantabhadra, to the lord of Yakṣas [i.e. Vajrapāṇi], to Mañjughoṣa intent on the good of others, to Viṣkambhin and to Kṣitigarbha. I respectfully worship them.]

* *Triśaraṇagamanaṃ ca kārayet.* Have them take the triple refuge.

Pupil:
S**Aham itthaṃnāmā yāvajjīvaṃ buddhasya śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi dvipadānām agram.*

Aham itthaṃnāmā yāvajjīvaṃ dharmasya śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi virāgāṇām agram.
Aham itthaṃnāmā yāvajjīvaṃ saṃghasya śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi gaṇānām agram.[103]

'Again with a firm resolve you worship and go for refuge to the Buddha, the best of beings, to the Teaching which is the best because without passion, and to the best of associations, the Monastic Association.'[104]

* *Tato daśaśikṣāpadāni dātavyāni.* Now give the Ten Precepts.

Guru:
S* *Samanvāhara yathā te āryā arhanto yāvajjīvaṃ* prāṇātipātaṃ prahāya prāṇātipātāt prativiratāḥ.[105]

'Oh pupils, the noble enlightened ones abandoned harm to beings, lived apart from harm to beings, in the same way you must also abandon it.'

Pupil:
* *Evam*[106] *aham itthaṃnāmā yāvajjīvaṃ prāṇātipātaṃ vairamaṇaṃ śrāmaṇerakaśikṣāpadaṃ samādade.*[107]

S* *Evam evāhaṃ prathamenāṅgenāryāṇām arhatāṃ śikṣām anuśikṣe anuvidhīye*[108] *anukaromi.*

'Oh *guru* preceptor, just as you have said, we shall abandon harm to beings for our whole life and keep the novice's precept. In other words we shall learn, follow and copy the precepts of the noble enlightened ones.'

Guru:
S* *Yathā te āryā arhanto yāvajjīvam adattadānam abrahmacaryammṛṣāvādaṃ surāmaireyamadya*[109] *pramādasthānaṃ nṛtyagītavādyamālāgandhavilepanaṃ varṇakabhūṣaṇadhāraṇam*[110] *uccaśayanamahāśayanam akālabhojanaṃ jātarūparajatapratigrahaṇāt prativiratāḥ.*

'Oh pupils, just as the noble enlightened ones abandoned what was not given, sexual misconduct, untruthfulness, alcohol, places of enjoyment,[111] dancing, singing, playing musical instruments, flower-garlands, perfume and powders, high and soft beds, eating at the wrong time, and taking gifts of gold and silver, in the same way you must give them up for the rest of your lives.'

Pupil:
* *Evam*[112] *evāham itthaṃnāmā yāvajjīvam adattadāna-*

vairamaṇaṃ śrāmaṇerakaśikṣāpadaṃ[113] *samādiyāmi.*
Aham itthaṃnāmā yāvajjīvam abrahmacaryavairamaṇaṃ śrāmaṇerakaśikṣāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.
Aham itthaṃnāmā yāvajjīvaṃ mṛṣāvādavairamaṇaṃ śikṣāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.
Aham itthaṃnāmā yāvajjīvaṃ surāmaireyamadya-pramādasthānavairamaṇaṃ śikṣāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.
Aham itthaṃnāmā yāvajjīvam uccaśayanamahāśayana-vairamaṇaṃ samādiyāmi.
Aham itthaṃnāmā yāvajjīvaṃ nṛtyagītavādya-vairamaṇaṃ śikṣāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.
Aham itthaṃnāmā yāvajjīvaṃ mālāgandhavilepana-vairamaṇaṃ śikṣāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.
Aham itthaṃnāmā yāvajjīvaṃ varṇakabhūṣaṇajāta-rūparajatagrahaṇāt vairamaṇaṃ śikṣāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.
Aham itthaṃnāmā yāvajjīvam akālabhojanavairamaṇaṃ śikṣāpadaṃ sam-diyāmi.[114]
Anenāhaṃ daśamāṅgena[115] *teṣām āryānām arhatām śikṣām anuśikṣe anuvidhīye*[116] *anukaromi.*[117]

'Oh *guru* preceptor, just as you have said in your compassion for us, we shall keep the novice's precept not to take what is not given.
In the same way we shall keep the precept to abandon sexual misconduct (*abrahmacarya*). We shall keep the precept about saying untruths.

We shall keep the precept to abandon alcoholic drinks such as beer and spirits.
Oh *guru* preceptor, we shall keep the precept against sleeping on high and soft beds.
In the same way we shall keep the precept to abandon dancing, singing and the playing of musical instruments.
We shall keep the precept not to wear flower-garlands, not to put perfume on our body, not to rub in powder, not to put on jewellery.
In the same way we shall keep the precept not to accept gifts of gold and silver.
We shall keep the precept not to eat at sundown.[118]
In this way we shall keep the rules of the noble enlightened ones forever and ever. We shall imitate (them).'

Now dismissal of the Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha mandalas. * *Tataḥ piṇḍapātracīvaraṃ paryeṣitavyam.*[119] Then have them request the begging bowl from the *guru*. Have them circle a flower round five times [and offer it], five-fold worship. Then the pupils should kneel on their right knee, and taking rice grains between their palms, supplicate.

Pupil:

* ***1. Samanvāhara ācārya aham itthaṃnāmā ācāryam adhyeṣayāmi. Idaṃ cīvaraṃ saṃghasya viśvāse saṃgha-paribhogāyādhitiṣṭhantu.***
2. Tathā samanvāhara ācārya aham itthaṃnāmā ācāryam adhyeṣayāmi. Idaṃ cīvaraṃ rājakula-gamanāyādhitiṣṭhantu.
3. Tathaiva samanvāhara ācārya aham itthaṃnāmā ācāryam adhyeṣayāmi. Idaṃ cīvaraṃ grāmanagara-pallīpattana-[120] ***gamanāyādhitiṣṭhantu.***
4. Samanvāhara ācārya aham itthaṃnāmā ācāryam adhyeṣayāmi. Idaṃ pātraṃ ṛṣibhājanaṃ śikṣā-bhājanaṃ[121] ***bhojanaparibhogāyādhitiṣṭhantu.***
5. Tathā samanvāhara ācārya aham itthaṃnāmā ācāryam adhyeṣayāmi. Idaṃ śikṣābhājanaṃ kuṇḍikām adhitiṣṭhantu.
6. Tathā samanvāhara ācārya aham itthaṃnāmā ācāryam adhyeṣayāmi. Imāṃ khikhirikām adhitiṣṭhantu.[122]

'Oh *guru*-preceptor/ Oh assistant-preceptor/ Oh preceptor, assistant and [leaders of the] association (*saṃghapiṃ*),[123] we humbly request you to authorize us to wear this robe, in order that we may belong to the community (*samudāya*) of the association members and be trusted by [members of] the association.
2. Oh Preceptor, assistant-preceptor and [leaders of the] association, we further humbly request that you authorize us to wear this robe when going to the palace.
3. Further please authorize us to wear this robe for going to villages, cities and market places.
4. Please authorize this vessel, this bowl of the seers (*ṛṣi*), for us to eat from.
5. Oh Preceptor, assistant-preceptor and [leaders of the] association, we also humbly request you to authorize the use of this waterpot for washing our hands and legs.
6. Also please authorize us to carry the staff (*sisalākū*).'

* *Tataḥ ācāryeṇa pradātavyaṃ cīvaraṃ anena mantreṇa.*[124]

Then the *guru* authorizes the robe by sprinkling it with water from his conch shell, reciting:

* *Oṃ namo samantabuddhānāṃ sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhitātmacīvara svāhā.*
[*Oṃ* obeisance, of all the Buddhas, robe has the essence of authorization of all the Attained Ones, *svāhā*]

Then the elder, baring his right shoulder, hands over the begging bowl (*gulupā*), staff, waterpot, robe and shoulder-cloth (*rūcigā*).[125]

> *1. *Tataḥ samanvāharantu bhadanta aham itthaṃnāmā idaṃ cīvaraṃ saṃghasya viśvāse saṃghaparibhogāya dhārayāmi.*
> 2. *Samanvāharantu bhadanta aham itthaṃnāmā idaṃ cīvaraṃ grāma-nagara-nigama-pallī-paṭṭana-gamanāya dhārayāmi.*[126]
> 3. *Samanvāharantu bhadanta aham itthaṃnāmā imāṃ pātraṃ ṛṣibhājanaśikṣābhājanaṃ bhojanaparibhogāya dhārayāmi.*
> 4. *Samanvāharantu bhadanta aham itthaṃnāmā imāṃ śikṣābhājanaṃ kuṇḍikāṃ dhārayāmi.*
> 5. *Samanvāharantu bhadanta aham itthaṃnāmā imāṃ khikhirikāṃ dhārayāmi.*
> 6. *Samanvāharantu bhadanta aham itthaṃnāmā āryākhyasaṃvaram āsaṃpatsye*[127] *sādhusamvaraṃ suṣṭhu*[128] *saṃcariṣye. Samanvāharantu bhadanta aham itthaṃnāmā yadā saṃghasya sāmāgrī lapsye. Tadā sāmāgryeṇa*[129] *sārddhaṃ poṣadhaṃ*[130] *kariṣye. Śīlaskandhasya paripūraye samādhiskandhasya*[131] *prajñāskandhasya vimuktiskandhasya vimuktijñāna-darśanaskandhasya paripūraye.*

'Oh Preceptor, assistant-preceptor and [leaders of the] association, we shall use in full accordance with the rules the robe, bowl, waterpot, staff etc. that you have authorized. We shall carry out properly the vows of morality (*saṃvara śīla*) that the noble enlightened ones observed. When the association comes together we shall also come. And we shall also come and observe the *upoṣadha* [i.e. the *aṣṭamī vrata*] fast. And in this way we shall strive to fulfill the section of morality (*śīlaskandha*) [i.e. that part of Buddhism concerning morality], and likewise the section of wisdom (*prajñā*), the section of release (*vimukti*) and the section of comprehending the wisdom of release (*vimuktijñānadarśanaskandha*).'

Now draw a goodluck sign of the five sections (*pañca skandha*) with yellow powder on the boys' heads. (Recite) the hundred syllables, have them dismiss the [*guru*] *maṇḍala*.

Now, starting from the verandah in front of the (monastery's principal) deity, draw seven lotuses, and place on each, one areca

nut and one clove. Then make the boy wear the monastic shoes and hold the waterpot (*kundhā*),[132] have the parasol held over him, have holy water poured from the waterpot before him [as he takes seven steps and] send him into the shrine of the main deity. Have him offer a *kisli* to the deity. Have him do five-fold worship, wave the yaktail and beat the wooden gong (*dharmaganṭhī*).

Let them each sit back in his own place, and offer alms.

Offer grains with the *mantra, jo jagneya svāhā*, make an oblation (of butter). Make them all touch their staff and small begging bowl to the (fire-sacrifice) ladle (*sulupā*). The assistant priest does the place spirit-offering (*deśabali*). The Preceptor does the oblation (*āhuti*). Circle worship (of all the gods of the monastery), seat the pupils, clear away the mandala, collective rice offerings (*kīga tinegu*), blessing. Full oblation, request for forgiveness, dismissal, offer *sagaṃ*, powder blessing, sacrificial fee, offering of *nisalā* and rice-plates, final oblation, dismissal, send spirit-offering, give direction spirit-offering, send (the boys) around the area (*deśajātrā*), and as soon as they return put out the doorway waterpots (*dwāḥlyā*) and have welcoming performed, pouring the *pha*-measure pot, offering alms, and have the boys fed pure food.

Then, led by the *guru*, worship should be done in the Tantric shrine, for as long as it takes, then eat *samay*, monastic association feast,[133] and send off the remains.

This is the rite of taking up going forth, otherwise known as *bare chuyegu*.

Spirit Offering to the Directions (dig bali)[134]

East

Indrādisagaṇaparivārān ākarṣayet. Indrāya svāhā.
Airāvatārūḍhaṃ sahasrākṣiṃ śacīpatiṃ[135]
Pītābhaṃ vajrahastaṃ ca devādhipatiṃ mahardhikaṃ.
Tasya darpavināśāya yamantakaṃ vibhāvayet,
Nīlābhaṃ raudrarūpaṃ ca vajramudgaradhāriṇaṃ
Oṃ yamantaka sarvaduṣṭendrān saparivārān kīlaya kīlaya hūṃ phaṭ.

[He draws to him Indra etc. with their troupes and families. Hail to Indra. He rides on Airāvata, has a thousand eyes, is husband to Śaci, glows yellow, holds a thunderbolt, is lord of the gods, extremely powerful. To destroy his pride he should summon through meditation Yamantaka, who is dark blue, of fearsome

form, holds a hammer and a *vajra*. *Oṃ* Yamantaka, bind bind all evil Indras and their families *hūṃ phaṭ*.]
Paṃ Lā. Ghaṃ. Stu. Ta.[136]

South
Yamādisagaṇaparivārān ākarṣayet. Oṃ yamāya svāhā.
Dakṣiṇe mahiṣārūḍhaṃ nīlavarṇaṃ tu vikramaṃ
Daṇḍahastaṃ yamaṃ ghoraṃ pretādhipaṃ maharddhikaṃ.
Tasya darpavināśāya prajñāntakaṃ vicintayet,
Śītavarṇaṃ mahāvīraṃ vajrāṅkadaṇḍadhāriṇaṃ.
Oṃ prajñāntaka sarvaduṣṭayamān sagaṇaparivārān kīlaya kīlaya hūṃ phaṭ.

[He draws to him Yama etc. with their troupes and families. Hail to Yama. He rides in the south on Mahiṣa, he is black, victorious, holds a stick, is fearful, the lord of all spooks, extremely powerful. To destroy his pride he summons through meditation Prajñāntaka, who is white, a great hero, and holds the *vajra*, hook and stick. *Oṃ* Prajñāntaka bind bind all evil Yamas, their troupes and families *hūṃ phaṭ*.]
Paṃ Lā. Ghaṃ. Stu. Ta.

West
Varuṇādisagaṇaparivārān ākarṣayet. Oṃ varuṇāya svāhā.
Paścime makarārūḍhaṃ saptaphaṇavibhūṣitaṃ
Nāgapāśadharaṃ śvetaṃ apāṃ[137] *patiṃ maharddhikaṃ.*
Teṣāṃ darpavināśārthaṃ padmāntakaṃ vicintayet,
Raktavarṇaṃ mahābhīmaṃ padmāntakaṃ madadhāriṇaṃ.
Oṃ padmāntaka sarvaduṣṭavaruṇān kīlaya kīlaya hūṃ phaṭ.

[He summons Varuṇa etc. with their troupes and families. Hail to Varuṇa. He rides in the west on a crocodile, is decorated with seven cobra hoods, carries a noose which is a *nāga*, is white in colour; he is the lord of the waters, extremely powerful. To destroy their pride he summons through meditation Padmāntaka, who is red, extremely terrible, and carries alcohol. *Oṃ* Padmāntaka bind bind all evil Varuṇas *hūṃ phaṭ*.]
Paṃ. Lā. Ghaṃ. Stu. Ta.

North:
Kuberādisagaṇaparivārān ākarṣayet. Oṃ kuberāya svāhā.
Uttare turagārūḍhaṃ pītavarṇaṃ dhanādhipaṃ
Nakulabījapuraṃ yakṣādhipatiṃ maharddhikaṃ.
Teṣāṃ darpavināśāya vighnātakaṃ vicintayet,

Nīlavarṇaṃ mahāvīraṃ viśvakuliśadhāriṇaṃ.
Oṃ vighnāntaka sarvaduṣṭasagaṇaparivārān (sic)
kīlaya kīlaya hūṃ phaṭ.

[He summons Kubera etc. with their troupes and families. Hail to Kubera. He rides in the north on a horse, is yellow, the lord of wealth, full of the strength of the mongoose, lord of *yakṣas*, extremely powerful. To destroy their pride he summons through meditation Vighnāntaka who is dark blue, a great hero, and carries the double *vajra*. *Oṃ* Vighnāntaka bind bind all evil troupes and their families *hūṃ phaṭ.*]
Paṃ. Lā. Ghaṃ. Stu. Ta.

South-east
Agnyādisuparivārān ākarṣayet. Oṃ agneya svāhā.
Agnikoṇe tu chāgasthaṃ raktābhaṃ ge cariṇaṃ
Daṇḍākṣakamaṇḍaludharaṃ tejādhipaṃ maharddhikaṃ.
Teṣāṃ darpavināśāya krodhācalaṃ vibhāvayet,
Nīlavarṇaṃ mahāghoraṃ khaḍgavīṇāgradhāriṇaṃ.
Oṃ acala sarvaduṣṭān sagaṇaparivārān kīlaya kīlaya hūṃ phaṭ.

[He draws to him Agni etc. with his families. Hail to Agni. He stands in the south-east on a goat, glows red, rides a —;[138] he carries a staff, rosary and waterpot, is lord of brilliance, extremely powerful. To destroy their pride he summons through meditation angry Acala, who is dark blue, very fierce, and holds a sword and top quality lute. *Oṃ* Acala bind bind all evil ones and their troupes and families *hūṃ phaṭ.*]
Paṃ. Lā. Ghaṃ. Stu. Ta.

South-west
Nairityādisagaṇaparivārān ākarṣayet. Oṃ nairṛtyāya svāhā.
Narāsanasthaṃ nairṛtyaṃ nīlābhaṃ piṅgalakeśakaṃ
Khaḍgapāśadharaṃ raudraṃ rākṣasaṃ tu maharddhikaṃ.
Teṣāṃ darpavināśārthaṃ ṭakkirājaṃ vibhāvayet,
Nīlābhaṃ bhīṣaṇaṃ tīkṣṇaṃ cakrahastaṃ bhayānakaṃ.
Oṃ ṭakkirāja sarvaduṣṭanairṛtyasagaṇaparivārān kīlaya kīlaya hūṃ phaṭ.

[He draws to him Nairṛti etc. with their troupes and families. Hail to Nairṛti. He is seated on a throne which is a man; he has tawny hair, holds sword and noose, is fearsome, a demon, extremely powerful. To destroy their power he summons through meditation Ṭakkirāja, who is dark blue, fearsome, sharp, holds a discus, awful. *Oṃ* Ṭakkirāja bind bind all evil Nairṛtis, their troupes and families *hūṃ phaṭ.*]
Paṃ. Lā. Ghaṃ. Stu. Ta.

North-west

Vāyuvyādisagaṇaparivārān ākarṣayet. Oṃ vāyuvyāya svāhā.
Mṛgāsanastham vāyuvyaṃ sarvavarṇakaradyutiṃ[139]
Patākādhāriṇaṃ saumyaṃ vātādhipatiṃ mahardhikam
Teṣāṃ darpavināśāya nīladaṇḍaṃ vibhāvayet,
Nīlavarṇaṃ pracaṇḍākṣaṃ nīlavajrāṃkadhāriṇaṃ.
Oṃ nīladaṇḍa sarvaduṣṭavāyusagaṇaparivārān kīlaya kīlaya
hūṃ phaṭ.

[He draws to him Vāyu etc. with their troupes and families. Hail to Vāyu. He sits on a throne of a deer, in the north-west; he has brilliant rays of all colours, bears a banner, is gentle, the lord of winds, extremely powerful. To destroy their pride he summons through meditation Nīladaṇḍa, who is dark blue, has fearsome eyes, and holds a black *vajra* and hook. *Oṃ* Nīladaṇḍa bind bind all evil Vāyus, their troupes and families *hūṃ phaṭ.*
Paṃ. Lā. Ghaṃ. Stu. Ta.

North-east

Īśānādisagaṇaparivārān ākarṣayet. Oṃ īśānāya svāhā.
Īśāne vṛṣabhārūḍhaṃ śvetābhaṃ triśūladhāriṇaṃ
Trinetraṃ parvatīpatiṃ[140] *bhūtādhipatiṃ mahardhikaṃ.*
Teṣāṃ darpavināśārthaṃ mahābālaṃ vicintayet,
Kṛṣṇavarṇaṃ mahāraudraṃ vajrāṃkadaṇḍadhāriṇaṃ.[141]
Oṃ mahābala sarvaduṣṭeśānasagaṇaparivārān kīlaya kīlaya hūṃ phaṭ.

[He draws to him Īśāna etc. with his troupes and families. Hail to Īśāna. He is mounted on a bull in the north-east, is white, carries a trident, has three eyes, is the husband of Parvatī, is the lord of ghosts, extremely powerful. To destroy their pride he summons through meditation Mahābāla, who is black, very angry, and holds a *vajra*, hook and staff. *Oṃ* Mahābāla bind bind all evil Īśānas, their troupes and families *hūṃ phaṭ.*]
Paṃ. Lā. Ghaṃ. Stu. Ta.

Above

Brahmādisagaṇaparivārān ākarṣayet. Oṃ ūrddhvabrahmaṇe[142] *svāhā. Oṃ sūryagrahādhipataye svāhā. Oṃ candranakṣatrādhipataye svāhā.*
Brahmendrārkādayo devāḥ grahanakṣatradevatāḥ
Svasvavarṇasuśobhāṃgāḥ khecarāś ca mahardhikāḥ.
Teṣāṃ darpavināśāya uṣṇīṣacakraṃ vibhārayet,
Pītavarṇaṃ mahojvalaṃ cakrodyatadharaṃ[143] *vibhuṃ.*
Oṃ oṃ oṃ uṣṇīṣacakra vartina sarvaduṣṭacandrārka-pitāmahādisaparivārān kīlaya kīlaya hūṃ phaṭ.

[He draws to him Brahmā etc. with their troupes and families. Hail to Ūrddhvabrahmā. Hail to the lord of the sun and planets. Hail to the lord of moon and constellations. The gods Brahmā, Indra, the sun etc. the planets and constellations, each shining with his own colour, moving in the sky, extremely powerful. To destroy their pride he summons through meditation Uṣṇīṣacakra, who is yellow in colour, blazes up, holds the discus upraised and is the lord. *Oṃ Oṃ Oṃ* Uṣṇīṣacakra bind bind all evil revolving heavenly bodies, the ancestor (i.e. Brahmā) etc. and their families *hūṃ phaṭ*.]
Paṃ. Lā. Ghaṃ. Stu. Ta.

Below
Pṛthivyādisagaṇaparivārān ākarṣayet. Oṃ adhopṛthvibhyaḥ[144] *svāhā. Oṃ nāgebhyaḥ svāhā. Oṃ asurebhyaḥ svāhā.*
Pṛthivyān nāgāsurādīn svasvavarṇāyudhānvitān
Pātālādhipatidevatān[145] *mahābalaparākramān.*
Teṣāṃ darpavināśāya śumbharājaṃ vicintayet,
Nīlavarṇaṃ mahākrodhaṃ vajraghaṇṭādharaṃ paraṃ.
Oṃ śumbharāja sarvaduṣṭapṛthivīnāgāsuraparivārān kīlaya kīlaya hūṃ phaṭ.

[He draws to him Pṛthivī etc. with their troupes and families. Hail to the Adhopṛthivi ('Below earth'). Hail to the serpents. Hail to the antigods. Pṛthivī, serpents, antigods etc. each of their own colour, each with their own weapons, the gods who are lords of *pātāla*, powerful and brave. To destroy their pride he summons through meditation Śumbharāja, who is dark blue, very angry, holds *vajra* and bell, is the highest. *Oṃ* Śumbharāja bind bind all evil Pṛthivī, serpents, antigods and their families *hūṃ phaṭ*.]
Paṃ. Lā. Ghaṃ. Stu. Ta.

This is the rite of the direction spirit-offerings.

The rite of abandoning the robe (cīvar toteyā vidhi)

First a *kalaśa pūjā*, worship of the [Tantric] god and 'circle worship' [i.e. of all the gods] should be done according to the rule of the monastery. Then the monks should be led in and made to do the *guru maṇḍala pūjā*. Lamp worship, dismissal.

Then have the monks request the *guru* and assistant priest.

Pupil:
Yathā te tathāgatā arhantaḥ samyaksambuddhā buddhajñānena buddhacakṣuṣā jānanti paśyanti yat

kuśalamūlaṃ yaj jātikaṃ yan nikāyaṃ yādṛśaṃ yat svabhāvaṃ[146] *yal lakṣaṇaṃ yayā dharmatayā*[147] *saṃvidyate. Tat*[148] *kuśalamūlaṃ nityam annuta-rāyāṃ*[149] *samyaksambodhau pariṇamitaṃ tathāhaṃ pariṇāmayāmi.*

[As the Tathāgatas cognize with their unsurpassed Buddha-cognition those wholesome roots, their kind such as it is, their own-being such as it is, their marks such as they are, and as they exist in their marks such as they are, and as they exist in their own dharmic nature, just so I rejoice, and as the Buddha and Lords cognize it so also I turn over into enlightenment.][150]

Just as the Tathāgatas, noble enlightened ones and fully enlightened Buddhas cognized, saw and realized by their Buddha-wisdom and Buddha-eye which merits were the roots of which rebirths, in the same way we too understand and realize the roots of merit of our various traditions (*nikāya*); in the same way that the Buddhas offered and dedicated their merit to all beings for the sake of complete enlightenment, we also dedicate it.

Dṛṣṭo śruto[151] *'nusmṛtim āgato vā*
Pṛthak kathāyogam upāgato vā[152]
Sarvaprakāraṃ jagato hitāya
Kuryām ajasraṃ sukhasahitāya.[153]
Adyārambhaṃ pravrajyāliṅgam avatārya punar gṛhiliṅgaṃ[154] *datvā kuladharmaṃ praveśayasva.*

Whether seeing, hearing, remembering, in whatever you do, you must always strive for the world's welfare and happiness. You have requested the *guru* for permission to give up from today the apparel of Going-forth and to put on the clothes of the householder, in order to follow the religion of the family (*kula dharma*).

Guru:
Prāṇaṃ na hanyān na pibec ca madyaṃ
Mṛṣā na vācyān na haret parasvaṃ
Parasya bhāryāṃ manasāpi necchet
Svargaṃ yad icched gṛham āgato yaḥ.

Now that you have become householders, do not harm living beings, do not drink alcohol, do not utter falsehoods, do not take the goods or wealth of others, do not even think about the wives of others; if you act thus [in accordance with these rules] you will obtain the happiness and riches of heaven.

Now each in turn should hand back to the *guru* his robe, the small begging bowl filled up with rice, and the rest. When each is

back at his place, hand over their householder clothes, and have them put them on.

Meditation, purification, touching with *vajra* and key, show lamp, pour *pha*-measure pot, sprinkle with *kalaśa* water and the five products of a cow, sprinkle on mandala, collective rice offerings, request for forgiveness, blessing, taking the light, dismissal, offering *sagaṃ*, put on powder spot, sacrificial fee, dismissal.

Offer a yoghurt bowl on the ritual plate (*thāybhū*) with the hair of four days previously, and send it off to be put in the river. If the neophyte is a Vajrācārya do the rite of consecrating a preceptor in the Tantric shrine. If he is a Śākyabhikṣu do a *kumārī pūjā* in the Tantric shrine, eat *samay, sagaṃ*, snack and feast, and send off the remains. At home, in accordance with the otherworldly (*lokottara*) rite perform the worship with the eldest of the candidates: it is not permitted to use bone ornaments.[155] Do the final spirit-offering (*śeṣa bali*) according to rule. If it is a Phū Bare [G] do worship with Tantric offerings, have a feast. 'Take fire' from the cinder-pot, clean mouth. This is the rite of the day of laying down the monastic robe.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] I would like to express my gratitude to the Leverhulme Trust Fund which supported me during two years of fieldwork, 1982–4, in Nepal, and to the Boden and Max Müller Funds of Oxford University which supported me after my return for respectively twenty-one and five months. I thank also Rajendra Pradhan, Alexis Sanderson and particularly Professor Richard Gombrich for comments and corrections made on an earlier draft. The faults which remain are due entirely to my shortcomings as a linguist and as a fieldworker. I dedicate this imperfect description to the elders and all the members of the Kwā Bahā monastic association.

[2] The standard ethnography of the Newars is Toffin (1984), though much useful material is still contained in the book it has displaced, Nepali (1965). Neither book deals with Newar Buddhism in any depth however and here the most important book is Locke (1980). On the history of Newar culture and the art it produced the best introduction and an important source is Slusser (1982). I have tried to give a sociological account of Newar identity in Gellner (1986). All the above contain useful bibliographies.

[3] Census data have to be treated with caution: census questionnaires ask for mother-tongue not ethnicity; and there are good reasons, discussed in Gellner (1986) for declaring oneself a Hindu whatever one's traditional religious practices may be.

[4] Unless otherwise indicated italicized words are in Newari, the Tibeto-Burman mother-tongue of the Newars. Skt. = Sanskrit and Nep. = Nepali. Newari has been heavily influenced, particularly where religion is concerned, by Sanskrit, and many Sanskrit words are used in Newari: *tatsamas* are transliterated in the normal Sanskrit way, but in *tadbhavas* and pure Newari words 'व' is translitered by 'wa': thus 'Kwā Bahā' not 'Kvā Bahā'. The inherent 'a' of *tadbhavas* is normally included, even though it is rarely pronounced in Newari. In Newari phrases and a few other cases it is omitted if its inclusion would encourage a pronunciation belonging to no language at all.

[5] On the Śākyas and Vajrācāryas as a caste, see Rosser (1966), Allen (1973), Greenwold (1974a and 1974b), Locke, (1980: Ch. 1), Riley-Smith (1982: Pt. 1), and Lienhard (1984 and 1985).

[6] Other meanings of *chuye* are 'to roast' and 'to tuck [e.g. a flower] behind the ear'. Since neither of these is relevant here, the verb must be used as in the phrase *bākhaṁ chuye*, 'to start telling a story', *jyā chuye*, 'to being work' or *nāṃ chuye*, 'to give a name. On *bare* and *vandya* see Locke (1980: 9, fn. 1).

[7] On the different types of monastery in Newar Buddhism, and their inter-relationships, see Gellner (1987).

[8] In a D. Phil. submitted to Oxford University in September 1987.

[9] On the ancient ordination ritual see Dutt (1960: 146–7) Lamotte (1958: 61–3).

[10] In practice and in most contexts foreigners are not nowadays made aware of their low ritual status in Nepali eyes. As is generally the case however purity taboos are more strictly observed in religious contexts, and this results in foreigners being excluded from many shrines. See the remarks by Höfer, 1979 (Ch. XII).

[11] Normally *vrata* refers to observances lasting one or two days at a time, most often undertaken by women, involving fasting and fulfilment of the Eight Precepts. See Locke (1980: 188–202), for the most popular observance, the *aṣṭamī vrata* of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara.

[12] As explained below, certain parts of the ritual take place upstairs in the foyer to the monastery's main Tantric shrine, to which access is restricted.

[13] '(G)' indicates that the term used is explained in the glossary below.

[14] NGMPP stands for 'Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project' and prefixes the numbers of texts microfilmed under it, available from the National Archives, Nepal.

[15] In Kathmandu, the areca nuts are presented three days before the initiation and the rites of the day before are a reprise of what is done on that day (Locke, 1975: 3–4; Hodgson, 1972, I: 139–40).

[16] This is similar (though not identical) to the list of those who must be feasted after the initiation (see below, p. 60).

[17] The Lalitpur Texts, T1, T2 and T3 do not include the rite of *gwedām tayegu*, and thus accord it less importance than it is given in Kathmandu (T4, T5, Locke, 1975: 5; see also Hodgson, 1972, I: 139).

[18] This practice is also called *na ciyegu*, 'binding what one eats', and the end of a fast is *na phenegu*, 'loosening what one eats'. I owe clarification on this point to Iswaranand Sresthacharya. *Nichyābhū* is sometimes used as an alternative to *chwelābhū*.

[19] These are the holy waterpot (*kalaśa*) and various other containers/symbols (including a mirror, *jwalā nhāykaṃ*, and powder pot, *sinhamū*, thought of as a pair). They are always established in the same way and represent various deities. They can be seen in the background of plate 3.

[20] This is written *sisalākū* in Vajracharya Ph. R. (1983: 37) and *śilāyakū*, Sanskritized as *śilāṃkuśa*, by Hemraj Sakya (1979: 86). In Kathmandu the word *khikhirikā* or *khilkhilikā* (Locke, 1975: 10) is sometimes used. Hodgson has *khikshari* (1972, I: 141). *Śilāku/sisalākū* is the Newari and *khikkhirā* the Buddhist Sanskrit (Edgerton, 1953: 205b); Edgerton also cites *khikkhirikā* and *khikkhilikā*, but only from the Svayambhū Purāṇa.

[21] The texts also call this *janik*, girdle. It is tied with the *mantra*: *'oṃ vajradharma hūṃ'*.

[22] Texts: *anaśvasthā(n)*.

[23] T1, T2: *nirvṛtaṃ*. A variant of this verse occurs in the Samvarodaya Tantra when the neophyte applies for Tantric Initiation (Tsuda, 1974: 126).

[24] Texts: *sarvamallāpanaye*.

[25] More rarely the verb *nikegu* is used, which also means 'to grind'.

[26] These are: mixed husked and unhusked rice (*saruwā*), two clay saucers with mustard oil and rice-flour (*potāy*) respectively, and a rupee coin. In Kathmandu a piece of buffalo meat, which has to come, according to Locke's informants (1975: 7 & 21 fn. 12), from the lungs, must also be given to the barber.

[27] Rajendra Pradhan has pointed out to me that although this interpretation is plausible for Monastic Initiation, it is less so for the other life-cycle rites in which it occurs (for Mock Marriage, see Allen, 1982: 184). There, as the *mantra* recited here indicates, it would seem to be intended to purify sin without any ascetic implications.

[28] This is translated from a transliterated tape recording made on 3/3/84. 'O-o' represents a sung and elongated 'o' on a falling tone. Parentheses around English words indicate doubtful translation and brackets what must be added to make sense of the recitation. The boy being initiated came from Michu Bahā, and this part of the ritual took place in the *gumpā* of Kwā Bahā. On monastery architecture and on Michu Bahā's relation to Kwā Bahā, see Gellner (1987). Note that both this recorded 'dialogue' and the versions of the priestly handbooks represent the exchange as taking place in a mythic or Purāṇic past ('the *guru* said' etc.), a detail absent from the scriptural sources such as the Kriyā-saṃgraha and from the reformist pamphlet, 75.

[29] T3 while clearly related to T1 and T2 varies in order and detail. T3 (unamended) runs as follows: *kulaputra tvam idānīṃ gṛhacaryyādikuṭumbatṛṣṇādisarvaṃ tyaktvā pravrajyāvrataṃ dhāryyaṃ śakyo 'si vā na vā. Śiṣyovāca: bho ācāryya me mana pravrajyāvrate sthitvā buddhadharmaṃca saṃghaṃ ca nāmaṃ gṛhitvā nitya nitya triratnaśaraṇaṃ gacchāmi kṛpādayāṃ kurtāṃ bho mahāguru. Prarajyāvrata Kathaṃ dhārayāmi pratyekaṃ ca deśayasva. Buddha kathaṃbhūtaṃ yāvatjīvaṃ sukhaṃ bhuktvā pravrajyā saṃvaraṃ dhṛtvā śīlavrataṃ ca dhārayāmi kathaṃ mahānātha bho guru ājñāṃ dehi. Gurūvāca: sādhu sādhu mahābhāga kulaputra tvam ekāgramanasā samādhāya śṛṇu. Saṃkṣiptarūpeṇa vakṣāmi. Buddhaṃ ca kathaṃbhūtaṃ mahākāruṇīkam* . . . [as p. 53 down to:] *dharmakāyaṃ munīndraṃ mahānāthaṃ śaraṇaṃ gaccha gaccha. Prajñāpāramitā śūnyarūpāṃ buddhajananīṃ dharmaṃ śaraṇaṃ gaccha gaccha.*

Buddhaputra śrī lokeśvaraṃ ca śaraṇaṃ gaccha gaccha. Punar gṛhacaryyakuṭumbādiṃ tyaktvā pravajyāsaṃvaraṃ dhāraya. Bhikṣuś ca śrāvake sthitvā vrataśīlaṃ samācaret. Trisatyam evaṃ kuru. Siṣyovāca: bho ācārya bho guru pravajyāvrataṃ dhārayāmi niścitaṃ trisatyaṃ. Gurūvāca: adhunā 'haṃ pravakṣāmi śṛṇu vatsa mahārataḥ/ vratācāra śucinema paṃcaśīlādi dhāraya. Paṃcaśīlaṃ kathaṃ. Prāṇaṃ na hanyānna pivec ca madyaṃ/mṛṣā na bhāṣyaṃ na haret parasva/kāmaṃ na bhogaṃ manasā 'pi vācā/kāyena stribhyaḥ satataṃ tyaja tvam. Puna aṣṭaśīla prārthanā: nṛtyadigītaś ca vibhūṣanaṃ ca mahoccaśāyyāṃ ca vikālabhojanaṃ.

There follows a list of the Ten Unproductive Sins *(daśākuśalapāpāni)* in Sanskrit explained in Newari with their respective results *(viśuddhi)* as follows: (i) harming creatures (short life); (ii) taking what is not given (poverty); (iii) consorting with others' wives (destruction of one's offspring); (iv) lying (loss of honour); (v) speaking so as to hurt others (to lack true friends), (vi) harsh and critical speech (having many enemies); (vii) frivolous speech which exaggerates and causes friends to become enemies (separation from one's family); (viii) unwisdom, black magic (stupidity in repeated births); (ix) rejoicing at others' misfortune and suffering (lack of success); (x) false views that lead one to despise the learned. (i)–(iii) are sins of the body; (iv)–(vii) of speech, and (viii)-(x) of mind. (I have listed the sins in the order, and with the explanation, given at Vajracharya A.K., 1983, II: 425–6. For the canonical explanations see Dayal, 1970: 199–204. The two agree except that the list given here has substituted *avidyā*, unwisdom, for *abhidhyāya*, covetousness. If this is a mistake it is an old one—see Edgerton, 1953: 170b–171a.) The five great sins are enmity towards, respectively, father, mother, *guru*, gods and scriptures *(śāstra)*, and by committing them 'one experiences great pain in the sixteen terrible hells and is reborn seven times as a pig etc.' The stress on avoiding sin rather than keeping the Ten Precepts is not accidental, but corresponds to the movement away from the strict monasticism implied in the latter but not necessarily by the former. Theravāda Buddhism, even though very conservative, experienced the same pressure (Gombrich 1971: 251).

[30] *gṛhīnāma evaṃ* is unclear. See fn. 29 for T3's version.

[31] *Dvipadānām agram*, 'foremost of bipeds' as below p. 79, would be more normal, indeed correct, but T1 and T2 agree here. Comparison with the text below (ibid.) shows that this epithet properly belongs to the Saṃgha.

[32] T1: *parityajet*.

[33] Note the *upādhyāya* is always the assistant to the *ācārya* in Newar Buddhism, and not vice versa as was the case in ancient Buddhism (Dutt, 1966: 149–50). It would be interesting to know how late or how early this reversal of seniority, presumably the result of Hindu influence, took place.

[34] An epithet of the Buddha.

[35] T2: *vratācārakathāś*.

[36] T1 & T2: *bhāṣya(ṃ)*.

[37] The metre breaks down in the third line and the translation is uncertain. For variants of this verse see p. 94 and p. 97and fn. 28.

[38] This is probably corrupt for *kāyena*—.

[39] Text: *paradravyān na haret*.

[40] T3 reads here: *aham itthaṃ dhārayāmi pravajyāvrataṃ yāvaj jīvaṃ aśubhakarmāṇi pāpāni tyajāmi āpasatyaṃ agnisatyaṃ pṛthivīsatyam iti trisatyaṃ*.

[41] A probably more correct version of this *mantra* is given below, p. 81.

[42] This is indicated by both T1 and T2.

[43] According to T3 he 'has the form of a *bodhisattva*'(*bodhisattvasvarūp*). One may presume that the *bodhisattva* in question is Viśvakarma, the divine artisan, since the hand-worship is addressed to him. Greenwold (1974a: 140–1) argues that the choice of the FZH for this role is determined by north Indian ideas of hypergamy: as a wife-taker, and therefore considered superior in status, he may take the place of the monastery elder. It is true that the Newars, like most Nepalese groups, tolerate hypergamous marriages far more than hypogamous ones. Nevertheless in contradistinction to the Parbatiyas, their preferred form of marriage is isogamous (Quigley, 1984: 273–4). Thus although Greenwold's explanation is very probably valid, it should at the same time be noted that we have here a case, like that of young girls' Mock Marriage (M. Allen, 1982), where Brahmanical values are honoured in ritual but not in practice.

[44] In Newari this is called *pīsagaṃluyegu*; the former term may be a contraction of *pyeṃgu samudra kalaś*, 'four ocean waterpots'. If this speculation is correct the contraction was no doubt encouraged by the phonetic similarity to the term *sagaṃ (G)*, with its overtones of auspiciousness. T1 and T2 specify that the *guru* (here it is the monastery's *guru*, the Casalāju, not the neophyte's family-*guru*, i.e. *purohit*) should recite the *maṅgalgāthā* (see below, p. 81–2).

[45] The last three words are an adaptation of the three 'great utterances' (*mahāvyāhṛti*) of Brahmanic daily ritual, viz. *bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ* (see Vidyarnava, 1979: 31–4).

[46] This is a ham-fisted attempt to put to the second half of the Ten Precepts into *ślokas*. I have translated what is the clearly intended meaning without trying to correct the grammar. Both T1 and T2 have *turyya* for *turya*. T1 has *-lasyañ ca* for *-rasasya ca*.

[47] i.e. *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*. the *mantra* of Avalokiteśvara.

[48] T5 has *pallīpatana*, T4 *paripattana*. The original Eastern Prakrit was probably *pallīpaṭṭana*, 'towns and villages', and this has been incorrectly re-Sanskritized in the tradition of T1, T2 and T3 as *parivartana* (Gombrich, personal communication).

[49] This passage is omitted in T1. T2 also adds the same authorizing *mantra* as is given below, p. 87. As will be seen (ibid.) *adhitiṣṭhantu* ('please authorize') originally represented a request from neophyte to elder, not an empowerment by the priest. (T3 reads *adhitiṣṭhantuccha* for *adhitiṣṭhantu*.) According to Hodgson (1972, I: 143) three robes really were presented (as well as three drinking cups, three begging bowls and three staffs), 'one for occasions of ceremony, as attending the palace, another for wearing at meals, and the third for ordinary wear.' It is possible however that this was a misleading gloss given by his *paṇḍit* to this passage. In practice only one robe is given in Lalitpur. But the neophyte is also given a shoulder-piece consisting of two squares of cloth joined by two ties, which he places on the left shoulder and under the right arm: this is also referred to as a *cīvara*, 'robe'. Unlike Kathmandu (Locke, 1975: 9) the neophytes do not wear ornaments.

[50] T1 & T2: *jācyamānaṃ*.

[51] Putting a spot of vermilion or sandal powder on the forehead (*sinha tiyegu*; the word *ṭīkā*, possibly from Skt. *tilaka*, is used only in Nepali) is one of the standard ways of receiving the blessing of a deity. The use of gold here expresses the extreme auspiciousness of the occasion.

[52] On the symbolism of the *nandyāvarta*, a version of the *svasti*, in architecture see Gutschow (1985).

[53] T1 and T2 have *piṇḍapātra* for *odana tasmai* in the *mantra* and omit the verse. I quote the latter from A.K. Vajracharya (1983, II: 474), where it is given in full as the verse appropriate to the gift of a begging bowl. It is also the verse used when offering rice to the main Buddha-statue of a monastery during the daily ritual. The Sanskrit says 'cooked and uncooked rice'. In the Theravāda tradition it should be only cooked rice. In the Newar ritual it is always uncooked but a mixture of husked and unhusked.

[54] In Newari this is usually called *nhepalā chuykegu* using the causative: 'have (the neophytes) take seven steps'. The ritual handbooks have a different phrase: T1 and T2: *saptapadma jāyake*; T3: *saptapāda jāyake*.

[55] In a speech given on 1/7/1983 Bhadri Ratna Vajracharya said that the point of 'taking seven steps' is rather to express contempt for the things of the world. This certainly makes sense, since the areca nut is crucial in the symbolism of marriage and auspiciousness. If this is so, the symbolism of the 'seven steps' (at least in the context of Monastic Initiation) is similar to that of 'grinding lentils' (see p. 51 and Plate 6). Both of these rites are common to many Newar life-cycle rites however, some of which have few, if any, otherworldly overtones; Hindus regarded the 'seven steps' as symbolizing the seven worlds (Rajendra Pradhan, personal communication).

[56] In most monasteries the god-guardian himself carries out the daily worship he is responsible for: he therefore enters the shrine, completes the worship and returns home. In Kwā Bahā, since it is such an important shrine, the god-guardian appoints two full-time officiants (*bāphā*) to enter the shrine and carry out the worship; usually he himself stays outside and organizes. The two officiants are usually his sons and/or nephews, but they must in any case be initiated members of Kwā Bahā. Two further categories permitted inside the shrine: the five seniormost elders once a year have to enter in order to perform the annual bathing (*mahāsnāna*) of the deity. In Kwā Bahā there is also a special Observance of Amoghapāśa once a year called *siṅkā dhalaṃ danegu*: those who perform it also enter the main shrine. For this reason participation is restricted to (male) members of Kwā Bahā.

[57] This is known as *pālaṃ yāyegu* from *pālana yāyegu* (literally 'to keep [the rules]'). The expression connotes the eating of pure food after any fast. In this context it is also sometimes called *sagaṃ*, but here this means only *dhau* (yoghurt) *sagaṃ* and not the Tantric *khyeṃ* (egg) *sagaṃ* (G).

[58] These Reform Committees have formed in each of the larger monasteries, and in the city of Lalitpur as a whole. They have tried to regulate rituals in order to prevent extravagance, but especially where weddings are concerned many of their rules are honoured more in the breach than in the observance.

[59] In this case, because it is a monastic occasion, not one which is consequent upon the boy's life as a householder, the family priest (*purohit*) sits below the elders of the monastery. When the elders are invited to a wedding feast, as they often are, they sit below the family priest. It should be noted that this principle applies equally to monastic occasions that are hardly Śrāvakayāna, e.g. the monthly rituals in the Tantric shrine: there too the family priest of the leader whose turn it is to be the sponsor (*jaymā*) sits below the elders themselves.

[60] More Sanskritically T2 calls this the *pravrajyāvrata-visarjana-vidhi* and T3 calls it *cūḍāvisarjan yāye vidhi*.

[61] T3: *gurūvāca*. (This is normal in these texts.) Throughout this passage I have corrected *caryya* to *caryā*. I have corrected T3's *upāśaka* and *dikṣā*.

[62] Professor Gombrich has suggested to me that *naiva yadi* may be corrupt for something like *na kriyate* which would be more metrical and make better sense. In that case the third line of the verse would mean: 'one cannot carry on the Mahāyāna nor perform its Observances without a wife'.

[63] As above, reading the unusual *mahāyānadharmatvam*, 'Mahāyāna-religionness', instead of *mahāyānadharmaṃ tvam* (when *tvam* is hard to account for).

[64] *Śiṣyovāca: guro 'ham ekaṃ bhālathi kathayāmi mahādullabhavrataṃ na jānāmi na śakitaṃ mayā tasyopāyaṃ vada kṛpā kuru. Gurūvāca: mayā bhāṣitā kulaputra tvayā na śakitam iti tasyopāya ahaṃ karomi. Śrīvanta guṇavanta dīkṣākāryyaṃ kuru tvaṃ.*

[65] Text: *bhārathīm ekaṃ prāthayāmi*.

[66] Here and below for text: *tac chamanopāyaṃ*.

[67] Syllable missing.

[68] Syllable missing.

[69] In most of these cases the polluted food passes only from superior to inferior; only very rarely (e.g. during Tantric Initiation when husbands also consume their wife's *cipa*) does it pass the other way. It would nonetheless be wrong to assume that there is any similarity between the blessed food of a god (*prasād*) and polluted food (*cipa*). *Prasād* for Newars is not in any way *cipa*. Fuller (1979) discusses this question at length and concludes that *prasād* is simply food which has been consecrated by being placed in the presence of the god. In the present case, human actors share this consecrated food in a rule-breaking—but all the same highly controlled—way.

[70] This may well be etymologically related to *waṃla cwanegu*, a practice of the farmer caste in Kathmandu associated also with the ritual of adulthood (Toffin, 1984: 159). R.K. Vajracharya (1980: 18–19) indicates that Kathmandu Vajrācāryas always perform their Power-place Worship (*pīṭh pūjā*) at Mhaipi, but sometimes do not do so for one or two years after the rest of the ritual. Different monasteries of Lalitpur are attached to different *pīṭh*: Kwā Bahā Vajrācāryas always go to Sika Bahī (Cāmuṇḍā), Bu Bahā Vajrācāryas to Yeppā (Vaiṣṇavī), Bhiṃchem Bahā Vajrācāryas to Bāl Kumārī and so on.

[71] A Vajrācārya from Kwā Bahā told me: 'the members of Bu Bahā watch what we do and add on rituals on top!' As an example he cited the rite of 'making pigtails' (*saṃ pyākegu*) which occurs during the wedding rituals: the groom has to make five pigtails on the head of his bride, an occasion for much joking and merriment. 'In Bu Bahā', my informant said, 'they actually worship these five pigtails as the Five Buddhas! Now, I ask you, would the Five Buddhas come onto the head of a woman? Of course not. Tārā or Prajñāpāramitā perhaps, but not the Five Buddhas.'

[72] The identity of the *bahī* and their relation to the *bahā* are discussed at length in Gellner (1987).

[73] See Mitra (1971: 103–7). Slusser (1982: 130, 173), mentions how KS was used in building monasteries, and how it became the standard guide for the construction of *stūpas*.

[74] On six occasions (pp. 78–9, 80, 84, 85, 86 & 87) the Sanskrit does not represent something supposed to be said, but is rather part of the ritual instructions as under (i). Here I have not put the Newari gloss/translation which follows in quotation marks.

[75] I omit the praises of Nilavajra's achievements.

[76] *Jātakarma*, Skt. and New. 'birth ritual', refers to the purifying rite four days after childbirth, otherwise known as *macābū beṃkegu*. Several Newars told me that it derived from *jāt*, caste, because only then does a child have a caste. Before it anyone can take the child and bring it up its as own. Evidently P.V. Vajracharya is using it here to mean 'rituals of our caste', as P. Shakya does in the preface.

[77] In the text the heading is *Prabajyā grahaṇa vidhi* but I have omitted it since it occurs at the head of both the following sections also. Adi Vajra Vajracharya (1980: 65) glosses *gwedaṃ ṭayegu* as *adhyeṣaṇā*, i.e. Skt. 'request for teaching', which is plausible for Monastic Initiation at least, if not for other rites in which it occurs (e.g. Samek).

[78] A.K. Vajracharya (1985: 7) gives: . . .*ratnatrayaṃ namāmy aham*. The present reading may be a version of . . .*namo 'stu te*.

[79] T5: *nimantrāmi*.

[80] T5: *ḍhoṣitā*

[81] Nowadays the males of the neophyte's family do not have their heads shaved.

[82] This 'explanation' is made the central part of the 'intention of the rite' (*saṃkalpa*) which specifies the place, time and sponsor. On *adhivāsana*, establishing, here of the neophytes' top-knots and below of the neophytes themselves, see glossary.

[83] T5: *upasaṃpāyitabya*. KS1: *katham upasampāditavyaṃ*.

[84] KS1: *pravrajyāpakṣa*. KS2: *pravrajyāpekṣa*.

[85] KS: *pṛṣṭvā*.

[86] KS: *trīrapi*, i.e. the Precepts should be recited three times, an instruction which is omitted here and elsewhere.

[87] The translation given by Locke, or his informant, deviates from this. The third and fifth precepts are, in his version: '. . .3. I eschew all lust (sexual pleasure) and all useless speculations on such questions as whether the world exists or not, whether there is rebirth or not, etc. . . .5. I eschew the drinking of alcoholic beverages, frequenting of places where such are sold, dance halls or the like' (Locke, 1975: 7). This is to take *kāmamithyā* as a co-ordinative compound and then expand *mithyā* to mean *mithyādṛṣṭi*, false views. In the fifth precept, it is to take *sthāna* as 'place' rather than 'occasion'. Neither of these interpretations is standard (see, e.g. Vajracharya Ph.R., 1983: 34). However one of these mistakes does seem to have been made before since Hodson gives the third of the Ten Precepts as 'Thou shalt not follow strange faiths' (Hodgson, 1972, I: 142).

[88] T5: *prāthayet*. KS has: . . . *pañcaśikṣāpadādikān upāsakaśikṣām ādhārayitum ācāryyo yācitavyaḥ*.

[89] T5: *ācāryainābaṃ*. KS omits the second *nāmā* which makes better sense.

[90] KS1: *dvīrapi*, to be recited twice; KS2: *trīrapi*, three times. Edgerton (1953: 564b): a candidate for initiation into the order addresses his or her spiritual preceptor at the ceremony, samanvāhara . . .ācārya . . .*take note (of), pay heed (to me), Teacher!*'

[91] KSI (123–4): *tata upādhyāyo jācitavyaḥ samanvāhara upādhyāya bhavān upādhyāyo bhūtvā ahaṃ itthaṃnāmā upādhyāyena pravrajiṣye. Trīrapi* . . . KS2 (250): *punaḥ upādhyāya: samanvāhara upādhyāyan pravrajiṣya. Trīrapi.*

[92] T5: *gṛhīṇam.*

[93] *Prayojanaṃ* omitted in KS. T4: 6a[6] has it. T5 breaks off from KS in mid-sentence. KS continues: *tadāvatāryya catuḥsamudrajalaiḥ snāpayitvā kāṣāyavastrair āchādya vaktavyaḥ. Brūhī*: [then having (him) undressed, bathed in water of the four oceans and dressed in red robes, address him thus:]. There then follows the undertaking to abandon the insignia of a householder (where T5 picks up KS again): see below p. 82.

[94] Reading *yan* for *yat* and *tan* for *tat* thoughout. This is a very common formula. For the use of the first couplet in the Fire Sacrifice, see Amoghavajra Vajracharya (1976: 13). For a longer version adapted to the Eight Auspicious Signs (*aṣṭamaṅgala*) see Ratna Kaji Vajracharya (1980: 64–5). The Kriyā-samuccaya (Chandra, 1977:341–2) gives the same verses, for each of the Five Buddhas, to be recited as the candidate for Tantric Initiation receives the Water Consecration. Here it is clearly the auspiciousness of the Three Jewels that is being invoked. The third line is the same in the verses for both the Dharma and the Saṃgha but seems to apply better to the latter: it might therefore be possible to find a better reading for the former. Line two of verse two should probably read *niruttarasya.*

[95] T5: *samādadhe*. KS adds: *trīrapi*, to be recited three times.

[96] Cf. above, p. 99, fn. 45.

[97] I have not translated these *mantras* in the text. The first means '*Oṃ* Buddhamaṇḍala cut off all obstacles *hūṃ*' and the subsequent ones mean '*Oṃ* such-and-such deity accept the *vajra*-flower *hūṃ*'. This is the Buddha-maṇḍala, i.e. that of the five Buddhas, and four of their female partners. The same arrangement is used in the *aṣṭamī vrata* fast. See Locke (1980: 191), for this and the following mandalas. The mandalas are arranged in a circle in front of the neophyte with the 'eastern' side (here presided over by Akṣobhya) nearest to him (in the translation 'front') and the 'western' side furthest away (in the translation 'top'). The female deities of the Buddha-maṇḍala occupy the intermediate quarters (SE etc.) and may be seen in these positions on some *caityas*. The central Buddha Vairocana is worshipped first, then the remaining four beginning with Akṣobhya and proceeding in a clockwise manner; then a second circling is made for the four Tārās. In practice the neophytes simply drop the flowers on the same spot for each deity.

[98] T5: *varanamitaṃ.*

[99] Cf. Hodgson's translation (1972, I: 142) of these three verses to the Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha. These verses to the Buddha are recited every day at the shrines of principal monastery deities. Since the following praise to the Dharma (the second of the Three Jewels) seems to be addressed to Vajrayoginī (Vajradevī) 'mother of all the Buddhas', and the historical Buddha, Śākyamuni, is included in the praises to the Third Jewel, the Saṃgha, one might presume that here the Tantric form of the Buddha is being addressed, viz. Mahābuddha Vajrasattva or esoterically one of the Tantric deities. The ambiguity however is of the essence. When recited before the main deity of a monastery (who is in nearly every case Śākyamuni with the earth-touching gesture) the verse can also be understood in a Śrāvakayāna sense.

[100] These are the *navagrantha*, nine sacred texts, which are worshipped as the Dharma, the Buddhist doctrine, the second of the Three Jewels. For the order of worship see fn. 97.

[101] T5: *tasmai*.

[102] These are the nine *bodhisattvas* worshipped as the third of the Three Jewels, the Saṃgha or monastic community. One implication of this is that the earthly Saṃgha also consists of *bodhisattvas*.

[103] KS: *trīrapi*, to be recited three times.

[104] The Newari has 'you' rather than 'we' making it clear that it is the *guru*, not the pupils, who actually says these lines.

[105] KS1: *prāṇātipātāt prativiratāḥ*. KS2: *prāṇātipātaṃ prativiratāḥ*. Text agrees with Banerjee (1949: 21).

[106] T5: *eva*.

[107] T5: *śrāvaṇeraka śiṣyāpadaṃ samādadhe*.

[108] T5: *śiṣyāṁ anuśi̇ṣye anubodhīye*. Banerjee (1949: 21): *śikṣāyām*...

[109] T5 omits: *-madya-*.

[110] KS lacks: *-bhūṣaṇa-*.

[111] The Newari takes *surāmaireya* and *pramādasthāna* as separate words, as Locke does (1975: 7). See above fn. 87.

[112] In the Sarvāstivāda version these are all taken at once (Banerjee, 1949: 21).

[113] T5 has for the second and third precepts: *śrāvaṇerakaśiṣyāpadam*. KS has only *śikṣāpadam*, though it reads *śrāmaṇerakaśikṣāpadam* above for the first Precept. It is a common and understandable Newar mistake to read *śrāvaṇera* for *śrāmaṇera*, 'novice', conflating it with *śrāvaka*, 'hearer' or 'disciple', i.e. follower of the Monastic (or lower) Buddhist path.

[114] KS: *trīrapi*, to be recited three times. For some reason KS omits the final Precept.

[115] KS, Banerjee: *daśamenāṅngena*.

[116] T5: *śiṣyāṁ anuśiṣye anuvidheye*.

[117] The order given here for the last five Precepts varies slightly from the Theravāda. From the Theravādin point of view, the present order runs: 9, 7, 8, 10, 6. In a published work (1977: 21) in which he expounds the Five, Eight and Ten Precepts, Asha Kaji Vajracharya gives the Tenth Precept as 'I give up the desire to sit in chariots and vehicles etc.' Although appropriate to Nepal (where even Theravāda monks normally handle money), this seems to be a lone innovation.

[118] Note this interpretation of the undertaking not to eat at the wrong time, which for monks means not eating after midday.

[119] T5: *payiṣitabyam*.

[120] T5 here and below: *pallīpatana*. See above fn. 48.

[121] Banerjee (1949: 22), has: *pātraṃ ṛṣibhājanaṃ bhikṣābhājanam*.

[122] KS: *trīrapi*, to be recited three times.

[123] I have abbreviated the translation here: the whole request is repeated three times both in T5 and KS, the second time substituting *samanvāhara upādhyāya* for *samanvāhara ācārya*, and the third time substituting *saṃgha*, i.e. the assistant preceptor and the elder(s) of the monastery, who represent(s) the association as a whole.

[124] T5: *pradātatyā*.

[125] In his eagerness to follow the Sanskrit the editor has the robe handed over when the neophytes already have it on! In fact it is the other monastic accoutre-

ments (begging bowl, staff, shoulder-cloth) which are handed over here (cf. T4: 7a[7] and 17b[8]). The inclusion of the waterpot (*kunaḥ, kunār* or *kuṃdhār*) agrees with KS. In Lalitpur it is not provided in Kwa Bahā but is in Ha Bahā (see plate 3). Thus below, where the text specifies that the neophyte should hold a waterpot while taking the seven steps, in Kwā Bahā it is the staff that is held. *Kuṃdhār*, waterpot, is perhaps a Newarization of Skt. *kuṇḍikā*. (Cf. T4: 15a[7] where *kuṇḍikā* is glossed as *kuṃdhāra laṃkha tayayāta*; according to Hodgson—1972, I: 143—a waterpot was necessary, which he called *gandhar*, presumably the same word as *kuṃdhāra* or *kundhā*.)

[126] T5 omits here an undertaking included in KS, corresponding to number (2) above, to wear the robe for going to the palace.

[127] Following KS1. T5: *āryārhanta saṃvaram āpannā*. KS2: *āyatyāṃ saṃvaraṃ āpatsya*.

[128] T5: *suṣṭu*.

[129] T5: *sāmāgreṇa*. T1: *anena saṃghena*. T2: *sāmāgreṇa saṃghena*.

[130] T5: *poṣaṇaṃ* .

[131] T5 omits *samādhiskandhasya* attested in KS. Cf. Hodgson (1972, II: 143): 'The aspirant then says, 'Now I have received the Pravrajya Vrata, I will religiously observe the *Sila-skandha*, the *Samadhi-skandha*, the *Prajna-skandha*, and the *Vimuktiskandha*.' ' The correct scheme has the five *skandhas* given, as one might guess from what follows; contrary to what one might think, the fivefold scheme goes back to the Pali canon (Edgerton, 1953: 607b).

[132] See above fn. 125. In Lalitput the *yojakāhuti*, offering of grains in the fire on behalf of each neophyte, and collective rice-offerings are completed before 'taking seven steps'.

[133] A full monastic association feast actually only occurs in small monasteries where it is feasible.

[134] The ten deities summoned to bind the ten directions are the Daśa Krodha (the Ten Angry Ones). They are described in several mandalas in the Niṣpannayogāvalī. Their distribution to the intermediate directions follows the mandalas of Akṣobhya and Vajrasattva, and not the Mañjuvajra mandala described by Bhattacharya (1968: 251–6). Their attributes given here correspond broadly, but not exactly, to all three mandalas. The central deity will in any case be the Tantric deity, whichever he is, of the monastery in which the whole rite is being performed. The visualizations (*sādhana*) of the lords of the directions and the Ten Angry Ones are written in *ślokas* which are occasionally unmetrical; Professor Gombrich has pointed out to me that one can usually correct the metre by positing Prakritisms.

[135] T5: *śucipatiṃ*.

[136] This is an abbreviation of *pañcopacārapūja, lāsyā, ghaṇṭā, stuti* and *tarpaṇa*, i.e. five-fold worship, dance gestures, bell, praises and libation. These are also performed to the lords of the eight directions in the *guru maṇḍala pūjā*, and are repeated for each (Locke, 1980: 87–91).

[137] T5: *āpāṃ*.

[138] The end of the line is corrupt. It might be something like *gṛhacāriṇam*, 'going to houses'.

[139] For *sarvāvaraṇa karadyutiṃ*.

[140] T5: *parvati-*.

[141] T5: *kṛṣṇavajrāṃka*, which is an obviously unmetrical repetition.

[142] T5: *ūrddhabrahmaṇe.*
[143] For *cakro ghata dhara.*
[144] T5: *arddhapṛthvibhyaḥ.*
[145] *devān* would be more metrical.
[146] T5 omits *yādṛśaṃ yat svabhāvaṃ.*
[147] T5: *yathā dharmaṃ tayā.*
[148] T5: *yat.*
[149] T5: *annutayām.*
[150] This is the dedication-of-merit formula enjoined by the Prajñāpāramitā literature and the translation given in brackets is Conze's (1975: 277). The formula also appears in Amoghavajra Vajracharya's (1972: 8) version of the *guru maṇḍala pūjā.*
[151] T5: *śṛto.*
[152] The grammar of this is odd, but the Sanskrit seems to mean 'whether in one's own experience—seen, heard or remembered—or in what is related by others. . . .'
[153] This verse also appears in Amoghavajra Vajracharya's *guru maṇḍala pūjā* immediately after the dedication-of-merit formula. I have not been able to trace its scriptural source.
[154] T5: *grhīliṅgaṃ.*
[155] This refers to the 'evening rite' described above, pp. 63–4. Bone-ornaments are only used in the presence of those who have taken Tantric Initiation.

Glossary of Certain Newari Ritual Terms

adhivāsana (also Skt.): 'preliminary establishment'. Literally it means 'causing to dwell in'. After *adhivāsana* a ritual object, if the icon of a deity, has to be treated with respect, even though its full empowerment (*pratiṣṭhā*) is still to be performed; if a person receives *adhivāsana*, he or she must observe purity rules, even though consecration (*abhiṣeka*) or other main rites, are yet to be performed. *Adhivāsana* could also derive from the root *vās*, to perfume, and would mean in that case that the objects established were being 'fragranced' overnight with the divine. Tibetan translators sometimes preferred this interpretation (Tsuda, 1974: 286, fn. 1).

chwāsā: this is a special goddess, sometimes represented by a stone, but often completely unmarked, who is found at crossroads or at other points in the street. At various life-cycle rites remains, e.g. the newborn child's umbilical cord or the clothes of a dead person, have to be thrown there. If one steps unknowingly on a *chwāsā* one is likely to be 'attacked' (*punāḥ haye*) which may cause painful stomache-ache and require an offering (*bau*) to propitiate the goddess. Toffin (1984: 486) lists the ***kalaṃdyo***, where leavings of feasts are thrown, as a separate deity, but in my experience Newars are hazy about the distinction between ***kalaṃdyo*** and *chwāsā*; although some sites seem to be only the former, I think that any *chwāsā* can serve equally as ***kalaṃdyo***. The distinction is really a functional one. ***Kalaṃdyo*** is derived from ***kalaṃ wāyegu***, the ritual of 'throwing away [the remains carried in] the ritual basket (***kalaṃ***)'. The *chwāsā* is personified as Chwāsā Ajimā (grandmother); the ***kalaṃdyo*** on the other hand, though called *dyo*, deity, is not personified in the popular imagination in the same way. However in the ritual performed on remains they, and therefore the goddess to whom they are destined, are worshipped by Vajrācāryas as Dhūmāṅgādī alias Ugracaṇḍi.

chwelābhū: 'plate of *chwelā*', the last meal before a rite, after which ritual prohibitions apply. Adi Vajra Vajracharya (1980: 32) glosses *chwelābhū* as 'first part of a life-crisis rite' (*karmakāṇḍayā pūrvāṅg*) and 'the first purifying feast of a ritual' (*karmayā prathama-śuddhibhojan*).

guru maṇḍala puja (also Skt.): the most fundamental rite of Newar Buddhism (simple worship, *pūjā*, is common to Hinduism also) per-

formed by lay Buddhists under the instructions of their priests. The *guru* in question is Vajrasattva. The ritual includes a confession of sin (*pāpadeśanā*), a *bodhisattva*-vow and a dedication of merit to all beings (*pariṇāmanā*) as well as numerous Vajrayānist elements. For a detailed description, see Locke (1980: 81–95).

kalaśa pūjā (also Skt.): the most basic complex rite performed by Vajrācārya priests. It focuses on the invocation of the Five Buddhas in the holy waterpot (*kalaśa*). A detailed description is given in Locke (1980: 95–103).

kisli (or ***kisalī***): this is a small clay saucer with unpolished rice (*akhye*; Skt. *akṣata*), an areca nut and five pice coin in it (the smallest denomination coin currently in circulation). It is always placed on top of the main holy waterpot during a *kalaśa pūjā* or fire sacrifice. Devotees offer it to a god in earnest of a promise to perform some rite to the god if he or she fulfils some condition or other, or simply in order to petition his or her aid. Enlisting a deity's aid in this way is called *phyānāḥ taye* or, using the Nep. word, *bhākal yāye*. The word *kisli* is a contraction of *ki*, rice, and *salī*, clay saucer. According to Allen (1982: 206, fn. 12) 'the clay cup symbolises earth, the rice grain crops, the arecanut space and the coin population—together they represent the human world.'

nisalā: a prestation always given to a Buddhist priest after a ritual. It consists of a plate of beaten rice (*baji*), with rock salt, ginger, one fruit and one sweet pastry. It is usually accompanied by one or more plates of rice with coins (*kibhū*). I have seen *nisalā* Sanskritized as *niśrāva* in an inscription of 1871 in Cikaṃ Bahī, but this seems to be an isolated occurrence. Presenting *nisalā* to a priest is also the minimum observance one should perform annually on behalf of a deceased parent even if no other ritual is carried out.

phū bare: a *phū bare* is a Śākya or a Vajrācārya, and in one exceptional case a Maharjan, who is entitled to collect, in a given area of the city, the remains (*phū*) at the end of the Kathmandu festival of (monastic) alms-giving (*pañcadān*).

sagaṃ: 'good-luck foods'. For Buddhists 'taking *sagaṃ*' consists in taking flowers, rice-grains, vermilion and yoghurt together from a ritual materials-plate (*pujābha*) with one's right hand, and then touching them to the right temple (if male) or left temple (if female) three times. The plate must be offered by a female, who places a *ṭilaka* of vermilion and rice on the forehead of the person taking *sagaṃ*, and then offers him or her an oily boiled duck's egg and a dried fish, and a small cup of strong spirits (*aylā*). These are received with hands crossed, so that they are received into the same (right or left) with which they are given. In return she must be presented with money, even if only five pice. The cup of spirits must be filled three times. *Sagaṃ* is taken at the end of any auspicious rite, before departing on a journey.

or after a lucky escape. During a ritual involving 'meatless' food, only *dhau sagaṃ, sagaṃ* of yoghurt and sweets and without the other substances, is used. Among Hindus meat and a lentil-pancake (*wo*) are also included, and the substances are said to symbolize the five 'M's of Hindu Tantra (Toffin, 1984: 540 & 553, fn. 28). Lienhard (1986: 133, fn. 7) derives *sagaṃ* from Skt. *śakuna*, an auspicious bird, but a more plausible etymology to the Newars themselves derives it from *saguṇa*, 'with good qualities'.

saṃjabhū: this derives from *saṃghabhojana*, 'feast of the monastic association' (cf. Adi Vajra Vajracharya, 1980: 32, who glosses it as *sarvasaṃghayā bhojan*). It is an indication of the fact that the elders stand for the association as a whole, who should ideally all be fed at the initiation of a new member. In small monasteries this is sometimes still the case, and at others (e.g. Bu Bahā) was so within living memory. It is interesting to note that the Skt. and New. *saṃghabhojana* has two different derivatives, one *sambhway* referring indeed to the monastic association feast, the other, *sáṃjabhū*, to the feast of the elders with religiously prescribed dishes after *bare chuyegu*.

thaku juju: means 'Ṭhakuri king (*juju*)'. The Thakujuju of Kwā Bahā lives in Nhū Bahā, a small lineage monastery very near to Kwā Baha, in which the main deity of Kwā Bahā, is supposed to have rested before finally coming to his present site. The Thakujuju are descended supposedly from the minor kings or feudal lords of the pre-Malla period, and have retained certain important ritual roles since that time, particularly during Saṃek. Nowadays however they call themselves 'Malla'. On the Thakujujus of Kathmandu see Malla (1980). According to one informant a Brāhmaṇ used also to be invited to Samek 'to read the Ved', but he no longer comes; and at both Samek and *bare chuyegu* initiation in Kwā Bahā representatives of 'the seven castes (*nhegu jāti*)' ought to be invited, viz. Vajrācārya (i.e. one's *purohit*), Thakujuju, Bisya, Jośī, Brāhmaṇ, Suwā and barber. It seems that only in Kwā Bahā, of the Lalitpur monasteries, is any kingly role preserved. In Kathmandu, by contrast, the new monks have to present areca nuts and betel leaf at the Hanuman Dhoka palace to 'register' with the king (Locke, 1975: 12). T4: 20a[5] sees this also as 'blessing' the king (*āśīrvād taye*).

thāsaṃdyo (or *thāpasaṃdyo*): this is a small wooden *caitya* in a three-sided box or throne which represents the monastery as a whole. It is kept at the home of the seniormost elder and is brought out for all rituals in which the monastery is concerned. It is carried by a man of the farmer caste (Suwā or Daṅgol) who is specially charged with duties in the monastery. Perhaps *thāsaṃdyo* derives from *sthānasaṃghadevatā*.

thāybhū: this is a plate on a tripod used in many Newar rituals. See plates 2, 3, and 5.

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